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THE

CHRONICLE

OF

Geoffry de Villehardouin,

MARSHAL OF CHAMPAGNE AND ROMANIA,

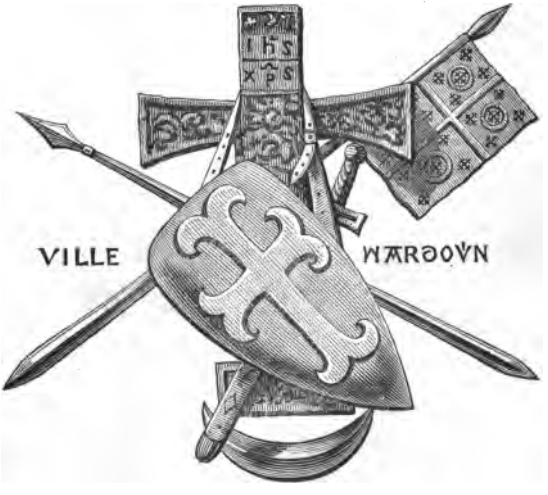
CONCERNING THE CONQUEST OF

CONSTANTINOPLE,

BY THE FRENCH AND VENETIANS,

ANNO M.CC.IV.

TRANSLATED BY T. SMITH.



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M.DCCC.XXIX.

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PREFACE.

WHILE Joinville, Froissart, and Monstrelet, have become familiar to the publick of this country, through the medium of the translations of Johnes, their more ancient precursor, Villehardouin, has been utterly neglected, and is known merely as the authority whence modern historians have derived their accounts of the establishment of the Latin empire at Constantinople. Yet is Villehardouin by no means deficient in attraction; the numerous editions of his work which have been published in France, are evidences that his countrymen at least have not been insensible to his merits. The earliest of these editions is that of Paris, A. D. 1589, undertaken, at the command of Louis, duke of Nevers, by M. Blaise de Vigenere, who arbitrarily divided it into nine books, and accompanied it with a French translation. An edition containing only the Romance appeared in its ancient form at Lyons, A. D. 1601. The work of Du Cange, still estimable for the profound knowledge of the lore of the middle ages, and the copiousness of illustration, by which the labours of that illustrious antiquary are distinguished,

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was published at Paris, A. D. 1657. A general collection of the French historians was undertaken in the early part of the French Revolution; and a similar, but enlarged collection, commencing with Villehardouin, has recently been published by Monsieur Petitot, with his usual care, at Paris. In the translation now offered to the world, the edition of Du Cange has been followed; many authorities illustrative of the life and narrative of the author have been derived from the same source; and it is hoped that the brief notice prefixed of the laws, language, and institutions prevalent in France at the period when Villehardouin flourished, may be deemed not irrelevant to the subject of his history.

Geoffry was the descendant of a noble family of Champagne, which in the twelfth century ranked among the most powerful of the barons of that county. The village of Villehardouin, whence his ancestors derived their name, where stood their manorial castle, of which the ruins have disappeared, was situated between Bar and Arcis, at a short distance from the river Aube. Five hundred years have elapsed since the decease of the last of the Villehardouins, and notwithstanding the many religious institutions in Champagne which were indebted to them for their foundation or endowment, and bore testimony to their opulence and piety,†

† The abbey of Arrivoir, in the diocese of Troyes, which was the burial place of the Villehardouins, was founded by them A. D. 1139. The abbey of Bouillencourt in the same diocese was founded A. D. 1199, and was endowed jointly by the count of Champagne and the seigneurs of Joinville and Villehardouin. The chapel of St. Loup at Villehardouin; that of St. Nicholas de Brandonville, and others in the county, were either founded or endowed by them.

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scarcely any memorials of men once so considerable have been preserved by history or tradition. The few particulars which have come to our knowledge concerning Geoffry himself, we owe to the industry of his indefatigable editor. They consist for the most part of titles, in which he was incidentally concerned; but the date of his birth, the period of his death, the place of his sepulture, almost every incident of his life unrecorded by himself, have eluded the vigilance of the antiquary. His history of the capture of Constantinople is enveloped in similar obscurity; we are chiefly indebted to its internal evidence for our knowledge of its unquestionable authenticity.

The father of Geoffry is supposed to have been William, marshal of Champagne, who subscribes without surname divers titles of Henry I. count of Champagne, from A. D. 1163 to A. D. 1179, and who succeeded William of Chartres in the office of marshal. William de Villehardouin left five children; two sons and three daughters. The eldest of the sons was Geoffry, marshal of Champagne and Romania; the younger was John, Sire de Villehardouin, who, though he was the ancestor of the princes of the Morea, continued during the turmoil of the crusades to spend his days in the tranquillity of Champagne. Two of the daughters became nuns: Emmeline took the veil in the Benedictine abbey of Our Lady at Troyes; Haye in that of Froissy, near Troyes; and the remaining daughter was the mother of Anseau de Courcelles, whom Villehardouin terms his nephew. This young man followed his uncle to Constantinople; and on the partition of the spoils of the empire received the grant of

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some considerable baronies in the neighbourhood of Macre and Trajanopolis, near the mouth of the Maritza.

The name of Geoffry de Villehardouin first occurs in a deed of gift, dated A. D. 1188, by which Manasses, bishop of Troyes, grants, for certain causes recited, † to his nephew Walter, archdeacon of Troyes, a life interest in lands near the village of Vannes, which he had purchased "de Domino Gauffrido de Villa Hardouini," and the reversion to the chapter of his church. From this document it may be inferred that Geoffry had then attained his twenty-first year; because the customs of France and Champagne fix at that age the period of majority, and the consequent control of property; and from the term "Domino," applied by the bishop to Villehardouin, it is presumed he was already knighted, though he might not have acquired the dignity of marshal of Champagne. The first of the deeds which describe him in this last capacity bears date A. D. 1193. It is of Bartholomew, bishop of Troyes, concerning the same land at Vannes, and states that this land Manasses, his predecessor, "a Domino Gauffrido de Villa Hardouini Comitis Henrici Marascallo propriis suis acquisiverat."

Henry II. count of Champagne, in whose court Villehardouin bore the office of marshal, was one of the most powerful vassals of the crown of France. His turbulence, and the animosity which he bore to Philip Augustus, were as

† "Eidem Galtero pietatis intuitu et ob servitii et laboris sui remedium, quidquid a Domino Gauffrido de Villâ Hardouini apud Vennam emimus, quiete et pacifice post decessum nostrum nullius contradictione obstante contulimus."

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conspicuous as his power. He had been compelled to abandon an offensive league which he had formed with the count of Flanders against that monarch, and in disgust had placed the cross upon his shoulder, and in the Holy Land espoused Isabel, the queen of Jerusalem. The kings of France and England were at that time warring in Syria; and the ancient rancour which subsisted between Henry and his sovereign impaired the pretensions of the former to the imaginary sceptre of Jerusalem, but acquired him the friendship of king Richard. Death however overtook him before the establishment of his claims: he was observing a body of pilgrims from a decayed window in the castle of Acre, when the stone on which he was leaning gave way, and he was precipitated into the ditch. Henry, before his departure from Champagne, had bequeathed his possessions to Thibaut, his younger brother. In the year 1198 Thibaut did homage to the king for the fiefs of Champagne and Brie, and according to the formula of the time appointed Geoffry de Villehardouin the marshal, Guy de Dampierre the constable, Gaucher de Chastillon the butler, Walter the chancellor, and other barons of Champagne, to make oath on his behalf that he would be faithful to the king of France, his liege lord, "*contre tous qui vivre et mourir puissent.*" In the following year Geoffry assisted at a parliament convoked by count Thibaut at Chartres, for the purpose of assessing the dowry of Blanche of Navarre, his wife; an assembly which was remarkable for the presence of the kings of France and England, and of the most illustrious lords of France and Champagne. The same year count Thibaut, at the instigation of Fulk of Nuilly, assumed the cross; his barons partook of his enthusiasm, and imitated

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his example: and it is no unreasonable presumption that Geoffry de Villehardouin was high in the confidence of his sovereign, eminent both for dignity and wisdom, since he was selected to negociate with the maritime republicks of Venice, Genoa, or Pisa, a passage for the pilgrims into Palestine.

The general consent of the pilgrims of all countries had conceded the command of the crusade less to the rank than to the uncommon accomplishments of the youthful count of Champagne. But when Villehardouin returned to Troyes from his mission to Italy, he found the count wasted by a rapid consumption; and in a few weeks the grave closed on his early promise. At the time of his death his widow, the countess Blanche, had borne him a daughter, and was pregnant of a son, who became famous in the annals of Champagne and Navarre. Although her right to the regency was admitted by the barons of Champagne, Philip refused to receive her as "*femme lige*," and required of her, as the condition of his consent, the wardship of her children, † and a promise that she would never again marry, except with his permission. After some conferences at Sens it was deemed prudent to comply with his demands; and the king on his part swore to protect the child; to educate her according to her birth; and to refrain from bestowing her in marriage until she had completed her twelfth year; when with

† The Coutûmes distinguish two kinds of wardships: Garde noble royale; and Garde noble-seigneuriale. The king was the guardian of minors inheriting fiefs held directly of him. This constitutes the first kind of wardship. The feudal lord had, during the vassals' minority, the wardship of fiefs held of him. This is the Garde noble-seigneuriale.

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the consent of the king, of his mother, of the child's mother, and of the barons, William, archbishop of Rheims, Eudes, duke of Burgundy, Louis, count of Blois, Guy de Dampierre, Gaucher de Chastillon, Geoffry de Joinville, John de Montmirail, Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, Clerembaut de Chappes, and William, count of Joigny, she would be allowed to marry. These discussions took place in the year 1201, when Geoffry and his companions were preparing for their voyage. The devotional spirit of the times called upon them to dispose of their worldly goods and to depart, as to their tombs, with hands free from the soil of lucre. Alms and donations to the church were obvious methods of divesting themselves in such cases of the cares of wealth, and at the same time of propitiating the divine favour. Geoffry stands pre-eminent among these benefactors; and he relinquished his country and family with the consoling conviction that he had contributed efficaciously to the remission of his own sins, and also of those of his predecessors.

The sequel of his adventures is to be sought in his writings, in which they are so free from ostentatious obtrusion, that we are compelled to regret the modesty of the writer. Geoffry has acquired the praise of being the father of French history, since his narrative is the earliest effort of historical composition in the vernacular language of his country. This language, the langue d' ouil, or Romance Walloon, was one of the two great dialects which had arisen in France from a corruption of the Latin tongue; a tongue which in the course of the five centuries of Roman power had been naturalized by the Gauls, almost to the extinction

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of their original Celtick.† On the ruin of the empire successive invasions of vagrant barbarians had introduced their own rude idiom; and every inundation, as it rolled wave after wave over the defenceless land, swept away some vestiges of the arts and the literature of Rome. The Romans, as they were vainly styled by themselves and their conquerors, thought more of the preservation of their lives, than of the refinements of language; the woods and caves afforded no opportunities for a reference to books; nor can we wonder at the corruption of the Latin tongue, when thus abandoned to the casualties of colloquial ignorance. In the reign of Charlemagne it had already become unintelligible in its purer form to the mass of the people.‡ Although the few

† It is impossible to fix the precise era of the origin of the "Lingua Romana Rustica," but it was certainly in general use in the sixth century, as it is expressly mentioned by St. Gregory in his dialogues. M. Barbazan maintains that the Romance tongue is entirely corrupted Latin, unmixed with Celtick, or Teutonick; and there is scarcely a word in the language, to which he does not assign a Latin etymology. Thus he ingeniously describes "*boc*" from "*vectum*," "*dun*" from "*tumulus*," "*Franc*" from "*fractum*," quasi "*vincula frangere.*" Roquefort inclines to the same opinion so far as regards the Celtick. With respect to the Celtick, it was no more than the language of Ossian, a written language; and nothing can therefore be affirmed concerning it. The most ancient piece in the Breton dialect is of the date 1450.

‡ In Charlemagne's time the responses to the litanies were made by the people in the Romance idiom. When the priest chaunted "*Sancta Maria*" the people responded "*Ora pro nos,*" and when he prayed for the Pope, or for Charlemagne, or his family, the people responded "*Tu lo juva.*"

"Sancta Maria,	ORA PRO NOS.
"Sancte Cherubin,	ORA PRO NOS.
"Adriano summo Pontifici vita:	
"Redemptor mundi,	TU LO JUVA.
"Sancte Petre,	TU LO JUVA.
"Karolo excellentissimo et a Deo coronato, vita et victoria:	
"Salvator mundi,	TU LO JUVA.
"Sancte Johannis,	TU LO JUVA, &c.

Raynouard.

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obscure writers who casually glimmered through the darkness of those days used Latin, such as it was, in their compositions; the people had gradually formed popular dialects, which were founded on that tongue, but corrupted by foreign words, and the absence of a written standard. Two great languages had thus sprung up in Gaul, which in process of time were reduced to method, and preserved in writing, but bore little analogy to the flexibility of their Latin parent. That used south of the Loire was the Romance Provençal, or Langue d' oc; that of the northern provinces was the Romance Walloon, or Langue d' oui. The earliest written example of Romance is the oath taken at Strasburgh, A. D. 842, by Louis of Germany to Charles the Bald, when they conspired against their elder brother, the emperor Lothaire. The most ancient specimen of Romance Walloon is to be found in the laws of William the Conqueror, which were promulgated before the year 1076. The "Rou de Normans" of Wace, in rhyme, was composed A. D. 1165. Tristan de Leonois, and other prose romances, appeared at the close of the twelfth century; but Villehardouin is the first writer who devoted the Romance tongue to the purposes of history.† How he has performed his task may be estimated

† For the purpose of illustrating the progress of the transformation of Latin into Romance, I subjoin examples of the Romance tongue, as it existed in different ages, from the earliest, A. D. 842, to the time of Villehardouin. A specimen of Joinville's language will be found in the note to No. 14 of Villehardouin.

OATH OF LEWIS OF GERMANY, A. D. 842.

"Pro Deu amur et pro Christian poblo et nostro commun salvament.

"Diest di en avant in quant Deu savir et prodir me dunat, si salvarai jo cist meon fradre Karl.

"Et in adjudha er in cadhuna cosa si cum om per dreit son fradre sarvar dist in o quid il me altresi fazet.

* *

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from the fact that his work has served as a text book for modern historians; and that the chief incidents it commemorates have been known to the world through the medium of their compilations. The general historian however,

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"Et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karl id damno sit."

LES LEIS QUE LI REIS WILLIAM GRANTUL A TUT LE PEUPLE DE ENGLETERRE CIRCA, A. D. 1072.

"Ed est a saveir; pais a saint Yglise; de quel forfait que home ont fait en cel tens; il pout venir a sainte Yglise; ont pais de vie et de membre. E se alquons meist main en celui qui la mere Yglise requireit, se ceo fust u Abbeie, u Yglise de religion, rendist ce que il javereit pris, e cent solz de forfait, e de mer Yglise de Paroisse 20 solz, e de Chappele 10 solz, e que enfrainant la pais le Roi en Merchenelae cent solz les amendes, altresi de Heinfare e de aweit purpensed."

ROU DE NORMANS. WACE, A. D. 1165.

"Thibaut li Cuens de Chartres fu fel et enguignous
"Mout ot chatiaux et villes, et mout fu aherous,
"Chevalier fu mout prouz et mout chevalerous,
"Mez mout per fu cruel et mout fut envious.
"Thibaut fut plein d'engin et plein fut de feintie,
"A home na a fame ne porta amitie,
"De franc ne de chetif n' ot merci ne pitie,
"Ne donta à faire mal euvre ne pechè.
"Franchois crie Mont-joye, et Normans Dex die,
"Flamans crie Asras, et Angevin ralie,
"E li Cuens Thibaut Chartres e Passavant crie."

VILLEHARDOUIN, No. 66. A. D. 1207.

"Et sachiez que il ne ot si hardi, cui le cuer ne fremist. Et ce ne fu mie merveille, que onques si grant affaires ne fu empris de tant de gent puis que li monz fu estorez."

The Romance of the oath of 842 above quoted appears to be entirely corrupted Latin. In some of the words the change is merely the substitution of one vowel for another; in others the elision of the casual terminations; in some the sound is pretty nearly preserved under a vicious orthography, as "*cosa*" for "*causa;*" and in such compounds as the following: "*dist*" for "*de ista;*" "*en avant*" for "*in ab ante;*" "*cad huna*" for "*quaque una;*" "*altrezi*" for "*alterum sic.*" Such instances indicate a corrupt pronunciation, rather than any radical change of the language by the adoption of foreign idioms.

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who compiles his work from a diversity of authorities, can only seize the great features of history, and passes over the minute details which give an individuality to its actors. But Geoffry pourtrays the words and deeds of warriors, with whom he was in daily intercourse: names now obscure, but which then perhaps filled the world with their fame;—he places before us the camp of the thirteenth century, and describes with the zeal of a soldier of the cross the genuine feelings of himself and his brother pilgrims. The devotion which first prompted them to the enterprize—the sacrifices which it demanded—the strange incidents which diverted them from their original purpose—their hopes, disappointments, dissentions, glories, and misfortunes—are depicted in a rude idiom, but with the ardent simplicity of truth. He cannot claim the praise of elegance; but his merit of fidelity has been universally acknowledged. If the accuracy of this history, the variety and importance of the events recorded in it, can compensate for its poverty of sentiment and homeliness of expression, I need attempt no apology for offering a translation to the world.

There are points, however, beyond the mere interest of the narrative—lights which it incidentally sheds over the laws, the institutions, the state of society existing at the close of the twelfth century—which confer an extrinsic value on Villehardouin. The monkish annalists wrote in an unused language, and dimly shadowed out, in the obscurity of the cloister, events which were passing in the distant world; Villehardouin, whose life had been spent in courts and camps, describes in his native tongue the daily business

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of feudal life, scenes where he was not only a witness, but a principal. He exhibits customs which now may appear uncouth or incredible; he abounds with proofs of the habitual and blind devotion of the age; and affords continual evidences of the deep root and wide extent of the feudal system, which had been matured by time, and was then flourishing in all its vigour. Perhaps the dawn of the civilization which has since risen over the world may be discerned in the twelfth century: the hordes of the North, so long a scourge to Europe, subdued by Christianity to a comparative repose, confined their turbulence to themselves; and the Normans, who had settled in Neustria, had become the most refined of the inhabitants of Gaul. A chivalrous feeling had succeeded to the predatory atrocities of earlier days. The feudal system itself was in practice softened down by the long intercourse of lord and vassal, and had acquired something of a patriarchal character; its ferocity was mitigated, its duties were defined; and the caprice or the cupidity of the seigneur was no longer the measure of his exactions. The institutions of Rome, the wisdom of Papinian and Tribonian, had crumbled into dust; but the feudal connection had gradually settled into a system of law, which bore no resemblance to any which had preceded it; it was alike dissimilar from the mild and simple codes of the Gothick tribes, and from the laborious compilations of Justinian and Theodosius.

To trace this system to its origin, it will be necessary to revert to the epoch of the Gallick conquest. When Hlodwig and his Franks had achieved the sovereignty of Gaul, they

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introduced their Salick laws for their own observance, but sought not to impose them on their various subjects.† The Romans were still governed by the code of Theodosius; the Burgundians and the Visigoths who continued in the provinces beyond the Loire, persisted in their respective modes of barbarous jurisprudence. The laws of the Barbarians, which fixed with a strange minuteness a pecuniary mulct for for almost every species of offence,‡ were administered throughout the kingdom concurrently with the Roman, and in this state the laws continued beneath the Merovingian and Carlovingian kings.§ The land was divided by Hlodwig into beneficia and allodia, "terram salicam et alodem." Beneficia, or salick lands, were the domains which were granted for life, or for a limited period, to the Frank warriors; allodia were the lands left in the possession of the ancient occupiers.* After the institution of feuds, the terms beneficium and feudum became interchangeable, and have therefore been supposed to indicate the same thing. The origin of fiefs may be traced to the benefices; but in their nature and constitution they were essentially distinct. Beneficia were official situations, personal, revocable at pleasure, and without vassals pledged to them, or seignorial

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† Inter Romanos negotia causarum Romanis legibus censemus terminari.—*Edict. Clot. Reg.* A. D. 560.

‡ Lindenbrogius. Wilkins. "Nullus Bajuarius," says the law of the Bavarians, "alodem aut vitam sine capitali crimine perdat, si in necem ducis consiliarius fuerit aut inimicos in provinciam invitaverit. Cætera vero quæcunque commiserit peccata quo usque habuerit substantiam componat secundum legem."—*Tit.* ii. *Cap.* 3.

§ De illis qui secundum legem Romanum vivunt, nihil aliud quam quod iisdem legibus continetur, definimus."—*Cap. Car. Calvi.*

* Marculphus. Pithæus ad Leg. Sal.

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rights; and the holders of them were simply the lieutenants of the sovereign. Fiefs were hereditary, irrevocable, possessing seignorial rights, vassals whose faith was plighted, and except in fixed and stated dues and services, were absolutely independent of the crown. The fief might be conferred by a seigneur; the benefice only by the sovereign. The first step towards the conversion of benefices into fiefs was to render them hereditary, for the accomplishment of which the utter helplessness of the Carlovingian family afforded too favorable an opportunity.† So early as the reign of Louis le Debonaire,‡ it was not unusual to ask as a reward for service the conversion of the benefice into hereditary property. At first such grants were probably of inconsiderable importance; but in the reign of Charles the Bald § governors of provinces extorted the royal permission to bequeath their offices to their children, and thus prepared the way for the license and disorders of the tenth century; during which there existed no power to enforce the decisions of justice, and France became a vast receptacle of banditti. Men were not slow to ask what they knew could not be

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† "Quia Hubertus Abbas nostram deprecatur magnitudinem, ut cuidam fideli comiti Palatii nostri, Ausfrido nomine, aliquantum ex rebus juris nostri beneficiario destinet ad proprium concederemus, ac per præceptum largiremur, cujus precibus libenter acquiescens, etc."—*Loth. Imp. Const.*

‡ One would scarcely have expected to have found in Barbazan, who was not remarkable for his forbearance towards the mistakes of others, such a blunder as the following: "En 842 apres la mort de Charlemagne l'empire et le royaume de France furent divisés entre Lothaire, Louis I. dit le debonaire, et Charles le chauve *ses trois fils.*"

§ "Bernardus Dux Septimaniæ, quanquam a loco prœlii plus minus tres leucas defuerit, et neutri in hoc negotio supplementum fuit; victoriam autem ut Caroli (Calvi) esse didisset, filium suum Willelmum ad eum direxit, et si honores quos in Burgundia habuerit ei donare vellet, ut se illi commendaret, præcepit."—*Nethard.*

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denied;† it was even a sign of grace to adopt the ceremony of petition, for those who neglected it could neither be punished, nor expelled. The counts and the dukes of the towns and provinces every where erected themselves into absolute lords; assumed legislative as well as judicial power; and compelled the payment of seignorial dues and services to themselves personally; privileges which until then had been utterly unknown. The laws fell first into disuse, then into oblivion; and each count, with the assistance of his liegemen, governed his vassals according to his own peculiar views of justice. Every succeeding heir following in the footsteps of his predecessors, adopted such of their decisions as could be ascertained, and in process of time precedent grew into the authority of law. Thus arose those collections of feudal regulations called "*Coutûmes*," by which France was governed for many centuries; and which, with the necessary modifications of time, continued to be the law until the Revolution. It was in the course of the twelfth century that these customs were first reduced to writing; before that period the custom of law of a particular district was ascertained by evidence and inquest.

So long as the benefices were merely official, it is evident that as property they were in all respects less desirable than allodia,‡ which were absolute and hereditary, and except in the event of foreign invasion, were unburthened with military

† A. D. 949. "Uto Comes obiit, qui permissu regis, quidquid beneficii aut præfecturæ habuit, quasi hæreditatem inter filios divisit."—*Rhegino.*

‡ The Coutume de Nivernois rates the Franc Aleu the tenth penny higher than the Fief.

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service.† But in the anarchy which distracted the days of Charles the Simple and his successors, when no species of possession undefended by military power was secure, the allodia silently disappeared. Many had been seized by open violence; in some instances the proprietors had voluntarily abandoned them; and many for the sake of protection had resigned them to more powerful neighbours, to hold them at their hands as fiefs. Every where the seigneurs had succeeded in subjecting them to feudal services, with the exception of those in the vicinity of populous and wealthy cities, which from their power could oppose a successful resistance to the usurpation. To what extent such usurpations were carried, may be conceived from the well known axiom of French law, "Nulle terre sans Seigneur;" an axiom from which lawyers have been found to argue "that no title from custom or duration can prove the existence of a right of Franc Aleu;‡ *that the presumption must of necessity be in favour of the seigneur;* and that in consequence the claimant of Franc Aleu is bound to produce a special and original grant."

But it was long before the nature and extent of feudal rights, which the seigneurs had thus violently acquired, became the subject of forensic discussion; it was even long before they began to be defined; and the commission of them to writing is the first evidence of an approach to times

† "In alode suo quis quiete vivere voluit, nullus ei aliquod impedimentum facere, neque aliud aliquod ab eo requiratur, nisi solummodo ad defensionem patriæ pergat."—*Cer. Cal. Cap.*

‡ Franc Aleu; Alode proprium, in quo tam utile quam directum quis habet dominium.—*Pithou. Coutume de Troyes.*

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of comparative tranquillity. The variety of "Coutumes" which existed in the various provinces of France indicates that their compilation was progressive; indeed they are merely collections of oral decisions and traditionary judgments. But though there was no exact accordance in any two of the vast collection, the great principle of feudal dependence pervaded the whole. Fidelity on the part of the man, and protection on the part of the lord, were the basis of the feudal compact.† Other rights, as "wardiæ, maritagia, relevia, escuagia," might vary with place and circumstance; but homage and military service were universally required. Of homage there were two kinds: one, liege, due only to the king, by virtue of his supreme sovereignty; the other to the seigneurs, who directly or indirectly held of him. It was incumbent on the man to do homage in person for his fief; it was his duty to appear ungirt, uncovered, before his lord, who was seated; to kneel on both knees before him; to place his hands, extended and joined together, between the hands of his lord; and to declare that "*from that day forward he became his man for life, limb, and worldly honour; that he would be faithful and loyal, and would bear allegiance to him for the tenements which he challenged to hold of him, saving his fealty to his lord the king.*"‡ And then the lord kissed

† "Quant home ou fame fait homage au chief seigneur don Roiaume de Hierusalem, doit estre à genouls devant luy, et mettre ses mains entre les scues, et dire le, 'Sire, je deviens vostre home lige de tel fiè, et vous promets je à garder et a sauver contre tous eeaux et toutes riens qui vivre et mourir puissent.' Et le seigneur li doit respondre, 'Et je vous en reçoi en Dieu foi, et la moie de vos droits, sauve les miens.' Et le doit baiser en la bouche en foi."—*Assises of Jerusalem.*

‡ "Jeo deveigne votre home de cet jour en avant de vie et de membre et de terren honneur, et a vous sera foyal et loyal, et foy à vous portera des tenemens que jeo clame de tener de vous, salve la foy que j'en doy, à nostre seigneur le Roy."—*Littleton.*

* * *

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him. When, where, or under what circumstances, the payment of homage became due, varied according to the customs of different provinces. By the "Coutume de Normandie," homage was due only upon the death of the tenant; the "Coutume de Paris" rendered it also necessary upon the death of the lord. Every where the man was bound to tender his homage at the chateau, or manorial house of his lord. When the lord was not present to receive the homage, the Coutume de Paris enjoins the tenant to repair to the principal gate of the chateau, and thrice with a loud voice summon the lord to receive his homage; and the Coutume d'Orleans directs the tenant to do homage in the absence of his lord, by saluting the doors and windows of his habitation. A default of homage for forty days after the decease of the preceding tenant, empowered the seigneur to make seizure for a certain period of the fruits of the tenement. Seizure having been neglected by the seigneur, the tenant, though homage had not been paid, might still enjoy the fruits. But in all cases of felony against the lord, the man absolutely forfeited his fief, which with all its rights reverted to the lord.

Such was the manner in which France was parcelled out by more than sixty great lords, the immediate tenants of the crown; of whom the lesser seigneurs held their fiefs by homage, military service, and a variety of inferior tenures. The most powerful of these princes, the dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, Guienne, the counts of Flanders, Toulouse, and Champagne, maintained a regal state; held their parliaments and sovereign courts; appointed baillies, vicounts, marshals, constables, and seneschals, for the administration of justice

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and for the purposes of pomp or war. Before the usurpation of Capet, the king of France, the nominal head of this aristocracy, though the descendant of Charlemagne, had become dependent for his daily bread upon the produce of his patrimonial farms. But Hugh at the time of his election was duke of the country lying between the Seine and the Loire, then called the dukedom of France; and this territory, which, until the reign of Philip Augustus, † constituted in fact the whole French monarchy, conferred a solid power on the crown, and enabled the posterity of Hugh, with the aid of fortuitous circumstances, to extend their sway by degrees over the remaining provinces. In the twelfth century, however, the house of Plantagenet had acquired, in addition to England, the whole western part of France, from the extremes of Normandy to the foot of the Pyrenees. Over the provinces beyond the Loire the dominion of the Franks had been transient, or nominal, and at that time they scarcely made a profession of obedience. The slight mixture of Teutonick blood had been insufficient to fix the mercurial temper of the Gauls and Visigoths, who in fact formed a nation altogether distinct from the inhabitants of the northern provinces, both in language, government, and manners. They were a people of poetry and pleasure; they were less trammelled by the feudal claim, and were more polished, volatile and licentious. The lords of Burgundy, Flanders, and Champagne, were singly a match for the regal power,

† Philip seized upon the dominions of the house of Plantagenet under pretext of the felony of king John. "Rex Johannes—occidit nepotem suum, qua de causa tanquam propter feloniam commissam Rex Francie occupavit Normanniam, etc."—*Henry de Knyghton.*

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which they were not slow to defy upon the most trifling provocation. ‡ There was seldom a period in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, when the king of France was not at war with some one or other of his vassals; and it was only by exciting them against each other, that he contrived to preserve a precarious authority. Could a citizen of Roman Gaul have revisited his country at this period, with what astonishment would he have surveyed the change! He would have found the empire transferred beyond the Rhine; a chief of the Alemanni dignified with the title of Augustus; his country parcelled out among Teutonick Barons, who had erected a fortress in every village; its rich and busy cities depopulated or in ruins, its tribunals overthrown, its laws forgotten, and its language unintelligible.

A century before, the French had transplanted their military system into the east; and when Villehardouin and his associates had overturned the throne of the Angeli, and possessed themselves of the empire of Romania, it was upon the model of the Assize of Jerusalem, the most perfect, as well as the most ancient monument of feudal law, that they formed a

‡ Radulphus de Diceto reports a league offensive and defensive between Baldwin, count of Flanders, and Richard, king of England, against their sovereign, Philip, king of France, A. D. 1197. John Sansterre was the negociator, and confirmed it on his own soul and on his brother's. Baldwin finding himself, from unforeseen circumstances, unable to contend with king Philip, took the cross at Bruges, as Villehardouin relates, and placed himself and dominions under the protection of the holy see, to appease or avoid the king's anger. Pope Innocent III. 45th letter, 2d book, takes Baldwin and Mary his wife under the Apostle's wing. Philip Mouskes's version is probably the correct one:

" Là Quens d' Arras s' en departit,
" Et puis au Roy s' accorda si,
" Q' apres s' en ala outremer,
" Pour l' amende mieux affermer."

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constitution for the government of their new possessions. Their first step was to elect an emperor; then to apportion the empire as fiefs among themselves, and to appoint the service which each should pay to the emperor. This arduous task was confided to twenty-four of the most noble and experienced among the pilgrims, who appear to have performed it to the satisfaction of the Latins, whatever clamours might be raised by the Greeks, at whose expense they exercised an unbounded liberality. Their government was attended by the usual inconveniencies of aristocracies; it required the keystone of regal power. Even in France where the feudal system originated and was matured, disorders were continually arising. If its aristocratical influence fostered and preserved a spirit of freedom, it gave birth to a licentiousness and discord which at times reduced the kingdom to a state of helpless decrepitude. If it successfully resisted the encroachments of despotic power, it was also fatal to the due administration of general justice. From the overgrown power of the greater seigneurs, the king and his laws had fallen into contempt, their authority was usurped by local jurisdictions, and the *Missi Dominici* † no longer itinerated the kingdom for the redress of wrongs and the reformation of abuses. The vassal who was denied redress by his immediate lord could only appeal to the uncertain protection of the sword; while the complaints of the villain, if such a strange anomaly as the complaints of a villain could occur, were esteemed too frivolous to claim attention. The villains, the

† "Itinerant dignitaries deputed by the Merovingian kings to inspect the administration of justice by the counts and bishops, and to correct any abuses they might detect by the extraordinary powers committed to them."—*Marculfus.*

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lowest order of husbandmen, were at that time slaves by birth, and were bought or transferred with the soil, of which they were the cultivators.† An occasional edict might recommend them to the kindness of their masters,‡ but they were beneath the protection of the law, and were only noticed by the law among the horses and chattels of the seigneur. The slavery of the villains is not however to be ascribed to the feudal institutions; for the same servitude prevailed during the reigns of Charles the Bald § and of Charlemagne, before the origin of feudalities, and probably existed from the remotest times. These things seem strange, when measured by the standard of modern refinement; our sympathy is excited by relations of men merged in a state of hopeless servitude; but when we consider the privations and the dangers to which every class of society was exposed, we shall find that in the general rudeness* even slavery loses much of its revolting character. Besides, the insecurity of property combined the inhabitants of every fief, from the seigneur to the villain, in a community of interest, and ensured a reciprocity of kindness. The villain of the twelfth century required not freedom, but protection; he was disturbed by no

† The villains appear, notwithstanding, to have possessed property. "Et sache bien, ke selonc Diex, ke tu n'as mie plenierè poëstè seur ton vilain. Dont se tu prens de sien fors les droites redevances ki te doit, tu les prens contre Diex et seur le peril de t' ame et come robierres."—*Pet. de Font.*

‡ "Admonendi sunt Domini subditorum, ut circa suos piè et modestè agant, nec eos qualibet opinione injustâ condemnent, nec eos opprimant, nec eorum *substantiolas* injustè tollant, nec ipsa debita quæ à subditis reddenda sunt impiè et crudeliter exigantur."—*Cap. Car. Magni.* l. 2. c. 44.

§ "Unus quisque (villanorum) suo seniori serviat."..*Cap. Car. Calvi.*

* Charlemagne himself performed his progresses in a waggon drawn by a yoke of oxen. "Quocunque eundem erat, carpento ibat, quod bubus junctus et bubulco, rustico more agente trahebatur."—*Eginh.*

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theories of abstract rights; his desires were few; his wants were easily supplied; and in a season of scarcity or danger, the church, the calumniated church, was always ready to hear and to relieve his distresses.

To descend to the details of feudal jurisprudence, such as the powers of high and inferior justiciary; the respective jurisdiction of bailly, vicount, and seneschal; the peculiar laws concerning the division of inheritance; and the various privileges which the seigneurs had assumed, would exceed the limits of a preface. But there is a vein of familiar devotion winding through Villehardouin's history that demands some notice; as it is an evidence that religion was so mixed up with the concerns of life, that it gave a deep and peculiar tinge to men's most ordinary thoughts and expressions. ‡ The church had in those days attained the zenith of its influence; and from the time when it first consecrated the lustral water to its service, it had been continually advancing towards wealth, dignity, and power. Each political revolution which shook the western world had endowed it with new privileges, or had released it from some ancient obligation to the temporal authorities. Every art and pretence for extending ecclesiastical influence had been practised: the clergy had impressed upon the multitude the Mosaic idea of the sanctity of their persons and property; they had encroached upon the authority of the civil magistrate, by opening their churches as sanctuaries for criminals, and by

‡ Even time was measured by the canonical offices. Thus Radulphus de Diceto, "Walterus Lincolniensis Episcopus in Angliam veniens die Dominicâ quâ cantatur "*Gaudete in Domino*," etc. See also the Note to Villehardouin, No. 137.

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encouraging appeals from his decisions; † they levied a tax upon the people by the creation of innumerable festivals, and by holding forth as objects of veneration the imaginary tombs of prophets and apostles; they taught, many of them in the sincerity of ignorance, and all without a blush, that bounty to the church comprized the sum, or might become the substitute, of the Christian virtues. ‡ The papal pretensions to universal authority were in turns enforced by carnal and by holy weapons; the rescript of Valentinian first gives to the *bishop of the eternal city* § a jurisdiction over the priesthood of Gaul, and the extinction of the western empire, with its revival by Charlemagne, but above all, the gross ignorance which had ensued from the irruptions of the Barbarians, were peculiarly favorable to the ambition of the pontiff. The skilful confusion of temporal and spiritual powers, in an age which knew not how to sift and to analyze, was a sure mode of shaking off the church's dependence on the empire; nevertheless, down to the year 1048, when Leo IX. succeeded, the bishops of Rome had always solicited the emperors' confirmation. But Leo sur-

† Pope Innocent III. lib. 1. Epist. 350, 351, decides that all believers have a right of appeal to the church, and that no proceedings can be taken by the civil powers against those who have appealed. The court of Rome thus became a kind of chancery for all Europe, and also resembled that court in its delays and costliness. This pope's letters are indeed for the most part decrees; nothing escapes him from the disposal of crowns to deciding upon the merits of a cracked table. (Lib. 2. Epist. 381.)

‡ "Admonentur fideles ad eleemosynas largiores."—*M. Paris*, 133.

"Oblationes et decimas ecclesiis afferte; luminaria sanctis locis exhibite; ad ecclesiam frequentius convenite; sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite; quod si observaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni judicis venientes, dicetis: *Da, Domine, quia dedimus.*"—*Vita S. Eligii.*

§ "Decernimus nequid tum Episcopis Gallicanis quam aliarum provinciarum liceat sine viri venerabilis papæ urbis æternæ auctoritate tentare; sed illis pro lege sit quidquid sanxit et sanxerit."—*Lex Theod. et Valent.* A. D. 449.

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passed his predecessors in arrogance, as far as he exceeded them in reputed holiness of life; and evaded, by a text of scripture, dexterously misapplied, the subjection of God's church to bondage. The genius of Hildebrand was employed for forty years in contesting with the emperors the right of investiture by ring and staff, and in thus raising up a kind of hierarchy, which might elevate the papal power above the thrones of the world. His successors, men of no ordinary vigour, followed up his projects; and though many of them, in their contests with the emperors, were like him, individually unfortunate, yet their power was daily increasing; for there was at that time this peculiarity in conflicts with churchmen, that misfortune brought an increased respect for their sanctity, and thus they derived strength from defeat. The crusades administered new temptations to corruption, new sources of influence; and at the close of the twelfth century there was no state among the kingdoms of the west, where Innocent III. did not extend his power, domineer over its princes, or exact its treasures as tribute to St. Peter; while his pretensions were not only sanctioned, but the general reverence for the church surpassed even the fondest dreams of Hildebrand.

The number and the value of the domains which the church at that time possessed in Catholick Europe would almost exceed belief: the Templars† alone enjoyed nine thousand manors, and nineteen thousand more were the

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* Habent insuper in Christianitate Templarii novem millia maneriorum, Hospitalarii vero novendecim, præter emolumenta et varios proventus ex paternitatibus et prædicationibus provenientes et per privilegia sua accrescentes."—*Matt. Paris.*

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property of the brethren of the Hospital. These fraternities, as well as the regular orders, acknowledged no temporal jurisdiction; and when we reflect that liberality to the church was the key which opened the gates of purgatory, we may wonder that the clergy had not acquired a monopoly of the soil. † The greater part of the lands of the church were held by "*pure Aûmone:*" a tenure which implies a grant of lands made by the superior lord to the church, without reservation of dues, jurisdiction, or dignity. Another kind of *Aûmone* was when the grant was made by a vassal; the Coûtumes in such a case held, on the principle that a man could give no more than he possessed, that a vassal could make no donation to the church, in which the rights of the superior lord were not reserved; but that the church in receiving such a donation was bound to indemnify the lord for his feudal rights. ‡ There is some discordance however upon this point among the Coûtumes; and there was probably greater between the Coûtumes and the church; for we find the spiritual sword sometimes sharpened for the preservation of such bequests, § and it might be at his soul's risk that the seigneur refused to resign his rights and to confirm the donation of his vassal.* Men naturally distrust self-

† It is justice to state that the 11th Canon, Council of Paris, held A.D. 1212, forbids the compelling or persuading the laity to bequeath money by testament for the saying of masses, and ordains that no money should be required for saying such masses. The necessity for this enactment shews the extent of the abuse.

‡ "Luy bailler home vivant, mourant, et confisquant pour faire paier les droits et devoirs que luy sont dus."—*Coutume de Normandie.*

§ The 44th canon of the fourth Lateran General Council declares, that the institutions of great lords, which are prejudicial to the interests of the church, are not to be observed, whether they concern the alienation of fiefs, or any other property.

* The 23d canon of the Council of Chateau-Gonthier excommunicates seigneurs who vex the possessions of the church.

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interested counsellors. But though the clergy were thus deriving advantage from the gross delusion of their flocks, it must be allowed that themselves for the most part were not more enlightened; they believed with confidence the power and efficacy of their own prescriptive modes of devotion; and though the more subtle Italians of the papal court, or the crafty genius of a worker of miracles, might smile in secret over the common credulity, it is beyond doubt that the meritoriousness of pecuniary atonement was inculcated in perfect sincerity. Self-interest however has sometimes an extraordinary power in quickening the understanding: Pope Innocent under various pious pretexts mulcted the clergy with no sparing hand of the wealth which they had absorbed from the people; and this operation opened the eyes of many holy clerks,† even in those days, to the profligacy and rapacity of the court of Rome. Yet those identical complainants dream of no general reformation; they assign the most extravagant limits to the powers and privileges of the Catholick Church; they relate, and probably believed, even risible absurdities;‡ nor do they once question the authenticity of the wildest legends of their saints, with which the Christian world abounded.

Although a crusade was the immediate cause of the armament which led to the capture of Constantinople, the

† Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, in his 39th letter complains of the exactions of Rome; and in his 41st letter informs king Henry II. that his ambassadors have returned from Rome *as usual cleared of their silver and laden with lead.*

‡ For a specimen of the process of saint making, see Matt. Paris, anno 1178, where he describes the discovery and the translation from a field near Redburn to the abbey of St. Albans, of the bones of St. Amphibalus and his nine companions.

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causes and consequences of those enterprizes have been so frequently investigated, that notice of them here would be superfluous. Whatever might be their consequences, the motives which induced men to engage in them are simply and truly stated by Villehardouin. They received with fond and eager credulity, the promises of the clergy, and according to the rude expression of the times, they took the cross to *avenge the wrongs of their Redeemer*.† Judæa, that land of stupendous wonders, has in all ages excited the awe and veneration of mankind; and if piety or patriotism even now derive strength from the prospect of the plain of Marathon and the ruins of Iona, shall we presume to deride the reverence with which the Holy Land was then regarded? Ecclesiastical abuses, as they have furnished food for the wit of Trouveres and Jongleurs, may still supply trite and easy themes of declamation; but in considering the powers and immunities of the church, we ought to weigh them not abstractedly, but in connection with the wants and the capacity of the age. In the infancy of society, faith is strong and reason feeble; yet the Franks had been advanced by this debased and corrupted religion to a degree of comparative refinement; and to estimate its benefits justly, we should compare them (even in the darkness of the twelfth century) with the votaries of Thor, who yet peopled the remote forests of the north. Even the power of the church, that favorite subject for vituperation,

† There were some trifling temporal advantages attending the crusades: Pope Innocent declares that the goods of the crusaders are under the protection of Saint Peter, and therefore freed from taxes and impositions; also that if the crusaders be in debt, Christian creditors are to be compelled by the spiritual courts, and Jews by the temporal sword, to remit the payment of interest. If a crusade upon such terms were now to be proclaimed!

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was a benefit in an age, which was a stranger to the blessings of equal law. If it was fraudulently acquired, it was frequently beneficently exercised;† and whether the fact is to be referred to a love of justice or of power, the appeal of the oppressed to the spiritual authorities was rarely received with coldness, or decided with injustice. The monastick institutions may have been subject to multiform abuses; they may be unfitted for promoting the charities of life, or for harmonizing with the social refinements of modern times; but they were admirably adapted to the wants of feudal days, to the promotion of a devout, or a learned life. To the silent industry of the cloister we owe nearly all our records of those darker ages, and the preservation of much that is valuable in literature. The abbey was a blessing to its vicinity: it created a garden where there was before a desert; it dispensed the only comforts of which the iron time was capable; it was a place of rest for wayfaring men,‡ when there was no other resource but the precarious hospitality of the baronial castle; the poor received there their daily bread; the aged and the sick were thence visited, relieved, and comforted; §

† "Anno 1184. Gilbertus de Plumpton, miles nobilis, coram Ranulpho de Glanvilla Justiciario Anglice convictus est de raptu et suspendio judicatus. Dum autem Wigorniæ duceretur ad patibulum, clamante populo eum justum esse et innocentem, accurrit in articulo suspensionis Episcopus civitatis, ministrisque et carnifici prohibet sub anathemate ne illa die eum morti traderant. Reducto igitur in diem crastinam, Rex interea vitam cedit, non ignarus a Glanvilla prosecutum ex invidia, ut suspensi uxorem, filiam Rogeri Galewast, cum hereditate ejus, Reinero vice-comiti suo Eboracensi in conjugem daret."—*Hoveden.*

‡ "Volumus et mandamus ut in quolibet monasterio abbas et prior hospitalitatem ordinent ad eleemosynas faciendas: certo hospitio ad recipiendos pauperes et alios pauperes hospites. Et si aliquo hospitium negatum fuerit, tribus diebus jejunet in pane et aqua.—*Stat. Nigri Ordinis.*

§ Inhibemus sub interminatione damnationis æternæ, ne possessiones ad eleemosynam sive hospitalitatem duputatæ, ab iisdem usibus abstrahentur.

Non est defraudanda pauperum eleemosyna.—*Stat. Nigri Ordinis.*

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and he who had survived the hopes or the disappointments of the world, might find within its portals the only secure asylum.

In advancing these claims of the Roman Church to favour, I speak of its relation to remote and lawless times. Its influence appears to be ill adapted to an improved state of society, and few will be found, who look back with regret to the period of its power. Amid the anarchy and violence of feudal power it ameliorated the wretchedness of humble life, softened the horrors of private warfare, protected the feeble, controled the powerful, was the star of hope and peace to the oppressed of every condition. But the evils which it then contributed to repress have no longer an existence; the laws of all civilized countries are now sufficient for the protection of those who live under them; and the church must in future be content with its legitimate influence, and be judged by the purity of its doctrines.

The abrupt termination of Villehardouin's history in the year 1207, leaves us in suspense concerning the future fortunes of the historian,† and the fate of the sickly empire, which seemed destined to expire in its infancy. Of Villehardouin himself, though there is reason to believe that he was living in the year 1212,‡ nothing authentick can be

† Du Cange mentions a deed of Geoffry de Villehardouin, dated March, 1207, by which he grants the reversion of one moiety of the tythe of Vez to the church of Our Lady at Foissy, and of the other moiety to the church of Our Lady at Troyes; the life interest to be enjoyed by his daughter Alice and his sister Emmeline, and by his daughter Damerones and his sister Haye respectively.

‡ A dispute between the church of Cardigus and the knights of St. John respecting

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affirmed, and vain were the attempt to dispel the obscurity which in six centuries has gathered over his grave. Other annalists have continued the history of the Eastern Empire; Romania, beneath the paternal sway of the emperor Henry, enjoyed a temporary repose. The ferocious Johannizza, who, on the death of the marquis Boniface, had flown to besiege Thessalonica, was assassinated by his servant Manastras; and the Bulgarian army, under Vorylas, his successor, was utterly destroyed near Philippopolis. After this deliverance, Henry devoted himself to the alleviation of the miseries of his people; to the defence of the rights of the young Demetrius to the throne of Thessalonica; and to the protection of his Greek subjects from the dogmatism of the Romish priesthood. With Henry, who died in the year 1216, expired the brief prosperity of the Latin empire: those who desire to trace the history of its decline, may find it detailed in the narratives of Du Cange and of Gibbon.

Some of the preceding details may appear to be remotely connected with the subject of Villehardouin's history, yet they may assist in elucidating the singular mechanism of society, to which every page of that history has reference. They may shew whence it arose that the great feudatories of France engaged of their absolute will in foreign warfare; they may explain the acquiescence of the king in any enterprize, which might deliver him from their turbulence. The

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the castle, having been amicably composed, it was arranged that the agreement, which is dated 1212, should be confirmed by the seals of the barons of the country; to wit, Conon de Bethune, seneschal; Guillaume de Villehardouin, marshal; Miles de Brabant, and others.

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anomalous constitution of the feudal host, the fierce independence of its baronial leaders, their freedom of debate, their impatience of control, the light and equivocal yoke of imperial power, homage, fiefs, vassals, serjeants, were subjects too familiar to Villehardouin to require illustration from him. They were the fruit of a system which had already grown to maturity; they excited no surprize, and to his contemporaries description had been superfluous. In every age the annalist is captivated by the novelty of events, while existing customs from their familiarity are

STONYGATE, MARCH 15, 1829.

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GEOFFRY DE VILLEHARDOUIN.

I. In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand one hundred and ninety-eight, in the days of Pope Innocent the third,[a] of Philip, king of France, and of Richard, king of England, there was in France a holy man, whose name was Fulk, of Nuilly.[b] Nuilly is a village situated betwixt Lagny sur Marne and Paris; and this same Fulk, who was a priest and curate thereof, A.D. 1198.

[a] John Lothario was raised in his thirty-seventh year to the Pontificate, A. D. 1198, and took the name of Innocent the Third. After a turbulent life, during which he had instigated crusades against the Albigenses, the Sicilians, and the Saracens, and established the Inquisition, and the doctrine of transubstantiation, he died June 16, 1216.

[b] Fulk, the curate of Nuilly, was then at the zenith of his reputation; his sermons against usury, about the year 1195, brought him into note, and he continued to be followed to the time of his death, which happened in the month of March, 1202. Most of his contemporaries speak with veneration of his sanctity, and his miracles rest upon testimony as respectable as any other miracles of the age. Alberic, however, says: "Dicunt quidam aliqua per eum facta miracula, maxime ad fontes, quos benedixit; sed in hoc scandalizabantur nonnulli, quod nimiam pecuniam aggregavit quasi ad succursum terræ Hierosolymitanæ, et quod erat ultra mensuram iracundus. Sed literæ et mandatum summi Pontificis eum tuebantur." Matthew Paris accuses Pope Innocent of collecting money under the same false pretences.

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A.D. 1198. began to preach the word of God throughout France and the surrounding countries. Our Lord performed many miracles by his ministry; and the fame of the holy man spread so far, that it reached the ears of Pope Innocent, at Rome, who in consequence sent into France, and enjoined him to preach the croisade by his authority; afterwards he deputed Master Peter of Capua,[c] one of his cardinals, who had already assumed the cross, and published by him the pardons I now tell of: "that all who for the space of one year should take the cross and the service of our Lord in the holy land, should be assoiled from all the sins which they had committed and confessed." And because these pardons were so great, they touched the hearts of many, and many forthwith assumed the cross, to obtain the benefit of these great pardons.

1199. II. The year after this good man, Fulk, had thus declared the will of God, there was a tournament[d] in Champagne, at a castle called Escriz;

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[c] Peter of Capua arrived in France A. D. 1198, and continued there till December, 1199. In addition to the business of the Crusades, he had the task of compelling King Philip to take again his wife Ingelburga, whom he had put away, and also to mediate a peace between France and England. The Monk of St. Albans says: "Innocentius Papa, qui negocium crucis plurimum affectabat, plus pretio quam precibus inductus, misit Petrum de Capua, Cardinalem, ut pacem inter Reges memoratos reformaret."

[d] William of Newburgh asserts, that in the reign of King Stephen, tournaments were unknown in England. Possibly they were intro-

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and there by God's grace, Thibaut, count of Champagne and Brie,[e] and Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, assumed the cross together; this happened in the beginning of Advent. Now count Thibaut was a young man only twenty-two years of age, and count Louis was only twenty-seven; they were both nephews and cousins-german of the king of France on one side, and nephews of the king of England on the other. A.D. 1199.

III. With these two counts, two potent barons of France, Simon de Montfort[f] and Renaud de Montmirail,[h] took the cross, and great was the renown thereof through all countries.

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duced by the house of Anjou, as there is one mentioned by Matthew Paris in the reign of Henry II. The French, particularly the natives of Champagne, excelled in their tournaments, of which they claim the institution. By the Lateran Council, A.D. 1179, those slain in tournaments were denied christian burial.

[e] Thibaut V. count palatine of Troyes, or of Champagne, and Louis, count of Blois, were grandsons of Thibaut IV. count of Champagne. Thibaut IV, had two sons; Henry, count of Champagne, and Thibaut, count of Blois, and a daughter Adela, married to Louis VII, king of France.

[f] Amicia, sister and heiress of Robert Fitzparnel, earl of Leicester, the last of the Bellomonts, married Simon de Montfort, surnamed the Bald. Their son was the Simon de Montfort of Villehardouin, who quitted the pilgrims at Zara to avoid the anger of Pope Innocent, and afterwards acquired such fatal renown by his cruelties against the Albigenses. He was invested by the Pope with the dominions of Raymond Berenger; and after many adventures was slain before Tholouse, 25th June, 1218, by a stone from a mangonel, said to have been discharged by a woman. Du Cange is mistaken in terming this personage "Simon III, the son of Amauri." Simon III, or the Bald, was his father.

[h] The brother of Hervè, count of Nevers, of the house of Donzy, whose mother was the eldest daughter of William, lord of Montmirail,

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A.D. 1199. IV. In the territories of Thibaut, count of Champagne, assumed the cross Regnier,[i] bishop of Troyes, Walter,[k] count of Brienne, Geoffry de Joinville,[l] seneschal of Champagne, Robert his brother,[m] Walter de Vignorry,[n] Walter de

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and of Elizabeth, daughter of Thibaut of Champagne; hence his relationship to the count of Blois. Renaud styles himself in a deed, A.D. 1197, "Reginaldus, Montis mirabilis dominus, Hervei Donzei filius."

[i] This bishop was of the family of Trainel, in the diocese of Troyes; he had before assumed the cross, and was at Placentia, on his way to Palestine, when he heard of the death of Henry, count of Champagne, brother of Thibaut V, who had married Isabel, queen of Jerusalem. On this, he applied to the Pope to be absolved from his vow, and returned to France. He distinguished himself at the capture of Constantinople, where he was appointed guardian of the holy reliques, and this office enabled him to gratify his church of Troyes with some of the most exquisite morsels of devotion, among which was a piece of the scull of St. Philip the Apostle.

[k] Walter, count of Brienne, had signalized himself at the defence of Acre, A.D. 1188. Afterwards he became king of Sicily and duke of Apulia, in right of his wife, and was slain A.D. 1205, at the castle of Sarno, in Apulia. John, his brother, passed into Palestine, where he espoused Mary de Montferrat, and became king of Jerusalem and emperor of Constantinople.

[l] Joinville, anciently Jovis villa, is a small town seated on the Marne, in Champagne, the lords of which held the office of seneschal of Champagne. This Geoffry was surnamed the Valet, to distinguish him from his father, then alive, who was honoured with the titles of "the old," and "the Fat." He was one of those who left the pilgrims, and went straight to the holy land, where he acquired great fame, and died without issue in the year 1218. John, Sire de Joinville, the author of the history of St. Louis, was the son of Simon, younger brother of Geoffry.

[m] Robert died in Apulia, whither he had followed the count of Brienne, A.D. 1201.

[n] The lord of Vignorre was one of the bannerets in the reign of Philip Augustus.

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Montbeliard,[o] Eustace de Conflans,[p] Guy du Plessie his brother, Henry d' Ardilliers, Oger de St. Cheron,[q] Villain de Nuilly, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, Geoffry his nephew, William de Nuilly, Walter de Juilimes, Everard de Montigny, Manasses de l'Isle, Machaire de St. Menehoud,[r] Miles de Brabant de Provins,[s] Guy de Chappes, Clerembaut his nephew, Reginald de Dampierre, John Foisnons, and many other brave men, whose names I omit. A.D. 1199.

V. Those who took the cross with count Louis were Gervais de Chastel, Hervè his son, John de Virsin, Oliver de Rochefort, Henry de Monstrueil, Payen d' Orleans, Peter de Braiequel, Hugh his brother, William de Sains, John de Friaise, Walter de Gandonville, Hugh de Cormery, Geoffry his

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[o] Walter de Montbeliard, brother of the count of Montbeliard, departed into Syria, where he espoused the sister of Hugh de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and was appointed regent during the king's minority.

[p] Conflans, a noble family, which derived its name from a castle, seated on the confluence of two small rivers, which enter the Moselle between Metz and Thionville.

[q] Ogier de St. Cheron, styled "Ogerus de Sancto Chirone," in the list of bannerets.

[r] Machaire de St. Menehold, who makes a considerable figure in the history of Villehardouin, was at last slain, in the reign of the emperor Robert, in a battle with the Bulgarians.

"Là fu mors Messire Makaire,
"Uns cevalier de grant affaire."
Philip Mouskes.

[s] Miles de Brabant, who also distinguished himself in this enterprize, was appointed, on the capture of Constantinople, grand butler of Romania, and retired into Thessalonica, where he possessed many lordships.

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A.D. 1199. brother, Hervè de Beauvoir, Robert de Froieville, Peter his brother, Oris de l'Isle, Robert du Quartier, and many others, whose names I pass over.

VI. In France were Nevelon, bishop of Soissons,[t] Matthew de Montmorency,[u] Guy, castellan de Coucy his nephew,[v] Robert Malvoisin, Drues de Cressonessart, Bernard de Morueil, Euguerrand de Boues, Robert his brother, and many other brave men, whose names are not mentioned.

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[t] Nevelon, bishop of Soissons, styled by Gunther "Vir magnæ sanctitatis et dulcis facundiæ," was the son of the lord of Cherisy. On the capture of Constantinople, he was created archbishop of Thessalonica, still retaining his bishoprick of Soissons, by dispensation from Pope Innocent. After the route of Adrianople, he was deputed to France to solicit assistance, and took that opportunity of presenting his church of Soissons, and that of the abbey of Our Lady in the same city, with reliques of extraordinary sanctity, which, says Du Cange, are preserved there to this day. He returned A. D. 1207, with considerable force, to Constantinople, and shortly afterwards, being on an embassy to Pope Innocent, died at Bari, in Italy, and was buried there in the church of St. Nicholas.

[u] Matthew de Montmorency, youngest son of Matthew, constable of France, followed Philip Augustus to the holy land, and in his wars against England. In a battle with King Richard, near Arques, A. D. 1198, he took prisoner Robert, earl of Leicester; but in the year 1198 he was himself taken at Gisors, having been unhorsed by the arm of King Richard himself. "In quo conflictu Rex Richardus tres electos milites, Matthæum, scilicet, de Montemorencino, Alanum de Rusci, et Fulconem de Gilenallis, ab equis ad terram prostravit; prostratos retinuit."—*Matt. Paris*, 194.

[v] Guy was the son of John, castellan de Coucy, and of Adela, sister of Matthew de Montmorency.

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VII. On the Ash-Wednesday following Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, and the countess Mary his wife, who was sister of Thibaut, count of Champagne, put on the cross at Bruges; with them were Henry, brother of the count, Huery his nephew, who was son of Philip, count of Flanders, William, advocate de Bethune,[w] Conan his brother, John de Neele,[x] castellan de Bruges, Regnier de Trit,[y] Regnier his son, Matthew de Vaslincourt,[z] James d'Avesnes, Baldwin de Beauvoir, Hugh de Belines, Gerard de Machicourt, Eudes de Ham, William de Gomegnies, Dreux de Beaurain, Roger de Marche, Eustace A.D. 1200.

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[w] The house of Bethune is descended from Robert de Bethune, advocate of Arras, who lived A. D. 1001. Advocates were originally men of law, chosen by religious fraternities to defend their communities; but it soon became convenient to entrust the office to men of the sword, whose protection was more effectual. Thus Charlemagne was elected advocate of St. Peter's, to defend Rome from the Lombards. Godfrey of Boulogne took the title of advocate of the Holy Sepulchre; and many considerable churches chose their advocates from the most potent nobility of their neighbourhood. The office, which in time became hereditary, was conferred by the presentation of a holy banner: the celebrated oriflame was the banner of the abbey of St. Denis, and was borne by the count de Vexin, in his capacity of advocate.

[x] John de Neele, son of Raoul II. castellan of Bruges, and younger brother of Raoul, count of Soissons. In former days, the more powerful lords appointed in their chief castles an officer called castellan, not only for military purposes, but also to administer justice to their vassals. In process of time the office frequently became hereditary, and was held of the lords as a fief. In some instances the castellans from simple officers became absolute and powerful barons.

[y] Regnier de Trit is supposed by Du Cange to have been the son of Regnier, castellan of Valenciennes.

[z] Valincourt is a castle in the county of Hainault, the lords of which were reckoned among the twelve peers of Hainault.

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A.D. 1200. de Sambruit, Francis de Colemy, Walter de Bousiers, Renier de Mons, Walter de Stombe, Bernard de Somerghen, and many other good men, whom I pass over.

VIII. Hugh, count of St. Paul,[a] afterwards took the cross, and with him his nephew, Peter of Amiens, Eustace de Cauteleu, Nicolas de Mailly, Anseau de Cahieu, Guy de Hosdeng, Walter de Neele, his brother Peter, and many other persons unknown to us.

IX. Afterwards took the cross Geoffry, count of Perche,[b] Stephen his brother, Rotrou de Montfort, Ives de la Valle, Aimery de Villerey, Geoffry de Beaumont, and many others, whose names I know not.

X. These barons held a parliament at Soissons, to determine when they should depart on their pilgrimage, and what way it were most prudent to

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[a] The counts of St. Paul originally sprang from the counts of Boulogne, a race of remote antiquity. Hugh Candavesne, the count mentioned by Villehardouin, was the last male of his family. At his death the house of Chatillon acquired the county of St. Paul by a marriage with the heiress of St. Paul.

[b] Perche was a considerable county of France, on the confines of Normandy. This Geoffry, count of Perche and Mortagne, who had more than once made the pilgrimage to the holy land, was descended from William, count of Bellesme and Alençon, a follower of Hugh Capet. On the death of Thomas, his son, who was slain at the battle of Lincoln, A.D. 1217, the county of Perche reverted to the crown of France.

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take; but at this meeting they could determine nothing, because it appeared to them, that the number of the croisaders was yet insufficient. Two months, however, had scarcely elapsed, before they assembled again in parliament at the city of Compeigne, where all the counts and barons who had assumed the cross were present. Many opinions were offered and discussed; but in the end, the most proper persons that could be selected were deputed as ambassadors, with full powers to conclude all things necessary on behalf of the whole assembly. A.D. 1200.

XI. Two of these envoys were chosen by the count of Champagne, two by Baldwin, count of Flanders, and two by Louis, count of Blois. The envoys of count Thibaut were, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, and Miles de Brabant; those of count Baldwin were, Conon de Bethune, and Alard Macquereau; and those of Louis, count of Blois, were John de Friaise and Walter de Gandonville. To these six did the barons confide the whole negociation, furnishing them with letters patent,[c] sealed with their

[c] Chartes pendans. Chartæ candatæ. Seals were attached to patent or open letters by silk, or a strip of parchment, termed in the language of the French Chancery, "queue." Instead of pendant seals, the Saxon charters bore many signatures, sometimes to the number of thirty or forty, with the sign of the cross added to each name: Edward the Confessor adopted the Norman fashion of pendant seals, but Harold reverted to the old Saxon custom. After the Conquest, pendant seals became indispensable.

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A.D. 1200. seals, whereby they engaged to make good all the engagements which those six should enter into on their behalf, at the ports and other places whither they were deputed. The six envoys departed, and consulting together, they were of opinion that they should find a greater number of ships at Venice than at any other port, and hastening thither with all diligence, they arrived at that city in the first week of Lent.

1201. XII. Henry Dandolo,[d] then duke of Venice, a person of extraordinary worth and wisdom, received them with much distinction, and both he and the other citizens were well pleased at their arrival. But when they delivered the letters of their lords, the Venetians marvelled greatly what could be the object which had brought them to their country. The letters were letters of credence, by which the barons desired them to credit the bearers as themselves, for that they would make good all that their envoys should undertake on their behalf. To this the duke replied, "My lords, I have read your letters, and know that, with the exception of crowned kings, the princes who have sent you are the most powerful in

[d] Henry Dandolo was elected doge A.D. 1193, being then more than eighty years of age. Some authors relate that the loss of his sight was occasioned by violence, when ambassador at Constantinople; but Villehardouin, and others, ascribe it to a wound. However it arose, his eyes, though not disfigured, were so extremely weak as to be almost useless.

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Christendom; they desire us to give credence to your words, and to hold as sooth whatever you may engage: tell us, therefore, what it is you desire." The envoys replied, "Sir, if it please you to assemble your council,[e] in their presence we will declare the wishes of our lords, even to-morrow, if you approve of it." The duke answered that he desired grace until the fourth day, and then he would assemble his council, and they might make known their demands. A.D. 1201.

XIII. They waited until the fourth day, as the duke had appointed, and then repaired to the palace, which was wonderfully splendid and magnificent, and having found the duke and his council in the hall, they delivered their message in these terms: "Sir, we are come to thee from the most potent barons of France, who have put on the sign of the cross, to avenge the wrongs of Jesus Christ,[f] and to recover Jerusalem, if such be

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[e] From the election of Anafestus, A. D. 709, to that of Cianus, A. D. 1172, the doge was chosen by the whole body of the people, and appears to have enjoyed absolute power. In the year 1172 a great council of 240 persons was established, out of which eleven were chosen for the purpose of electing a doge. Twelve tribunes were appointed at the same time, whose office, like that of the tribunes of old, was to oppose their veto to any ordinances which they might deem tyrannical or unjust. The famous aristocracy was not established until the year 1289, when the doge, Peter Gradenigo, limited the power of becoming a member of the councils to a small number of the nobles and their descendants, to the exclusion of all other families.

[f] This was a favorite sentiment among the Latins, from the "Si ego

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A.D. 1201. the will of God; and because they know that no nation has the power of you and your people, they implore ye, in God's name, to look with pity upon the holy land, and by supplying them with ships and means for their passage thither, to join with them in avenging the shames of our Redeemer." "On what conditions?" demanded the duke. "On any conditions," replied the envoys, "which you may think proper to impose, provided they are within our power." "Certes," said the duke, "the request is no slight one, and the enterprize itself is of vast magnitude; we will return you an answer in eight days; and wonder not that we ask so long a time, for a thing of this importance needs much deliberation."

XIV. The term fixed by the duke having expired, the ambassadors returned to the palace. It is unneccessary to relate all that passed there, but the conclusion of the conference was as follows: "Lords," said the duke, "we will now declare what we have resolved on, provided our great council and the commons of the city consent; and do you consider whether you will assent to our proposal. We will furnish you with pa-

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ibidem cum Francis meis fuissem, injurias ejus vindicassem" of Hlodwig, to the days of Villehardouin and the last crusaders.

"En guerpissant parens et aises,
"Ont là souffert maintes mesaises,
"Pour Jerusalem chalengier,
"Et pour la honte Dieu vengir."
Guiart.

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landers[6] for four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand esquires, and with ships for four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand serjeants on foot; we will also engage to supply men and horses with provisions for nine months, on condition of receiving four marks for every horse, and two for every man. We will observe all these engagements for one year from the day of our departure from the port of Venice; to undertake the service of God and Christendom, in whatever realms that service may lead us. The sum to be paid us, according to these conditions, will amount to eighty-five thousand marks. And we will moreover undertake to equip fifty galleys for the love of God, on condition that, so long as our alliance shall continue, all the conquests we may make by sea or by land shall be divided equally between us. Now determine whether you will accede to our terms." A.D. 1201.

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[6] Palanders. Uuissiers. I adopt the term Palander upon Gibbon's recommendation, as I know of none at present in use, which precisely indicates the kind of vessel intended by the word "Uuissier." In the feudal times, when the horse was indispensable to the man at arms, Uuissiers were flat-bottomed vessels, constructed purposely for the transport of horses, with ports in their sides, from which bridges were let down to facilitate their passage.—"Uuissier, or Huissier," is derived from "huis," a door. "Nous entrâsmes au mois d' Aoust celui an en la nef à la roche de Marseille, et fut ouverte la porte de la nef pour faire entrer nos chevaux, ceux que devions mener outremer. Et quant tous furent entrez, la porte fut recluse et estouppè, ainsi comme l' on voudroit faire un tonnel de vin: parceque quand la nef est en la grant mer, toute la porte est en eau."—*Joinville.*

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A.D. 1201. XV. The ambassadors replied, that they would consult together and give their reply on the morrow. The same night they discussed the conditions among themselves, and resolved to accept them; and on the following morning they came before the duke, and said: "Sir, we are prepared to assure this covenant." The duke said he would lay the matter before the people, and would communicate to them what the people should resolve upon. The next day, which was the third, the duke summoned his great council, which was composed of forty of the wisest persons of the land, and so wrought upon them by his wit and wisdom, which were both brilliant and profound, that they assented to what he proposed. Afterwards he treated with one hundred persons, then with two hundred, then with one thousand, that they might all previously approve and consent; and at last he assembled more than ten thousand people at the church of St. Mark,[h] which is the most magnificent of churches, and prayed them, that first they would hear the mass of the Holy Ghost, and then implore God to inspire them to do his pleasure in respect of the demands of the ambassadors. And the people readily obeyed him.

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[h] The doge Cianus, who died A. D. 1178, expended immense sums in adorning the church of St. Mark, which was then esteemed, from its costliness and beauty, one of the wonders of the west. Sabellicus, lib. vii. describes it, but his account is too long to transcribe.

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XVI. When the mass was over, the duke sent to the ambassadors, desiring that they would humbly move the people to decree the conclusion of the treaty. The ambassadors repaired to the church, and were eagerly regarded by those, who had not yet beheld them. Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, spoke by consent for the rest, and said: "Signiors, the most high and powerful barons of France have sent us to Venice to implore you to look with pity on the Holy City, which is in bondage to the Infidels, and for God's sake to join with them in avenging the wrongs of Jesus Christ. They turn to you, because they know none others so powerful on the seas, and they have enjoined us to kneel at your feet, until you have granted their prayers, and have compassion upon the land over sea." A.D. 1201.

XVII. The six ambassadors then fell on their knees with many tears,[1] and the duke and the people waved their hands and cried aloud with one voice, "We consent," "We consent." The acclamations and tumult were so great, that it seemed that the earth shook; and when that great and heart-moving cry, which exceeded all human

[1] Whether the tears of the crusaders, so frequently spoken of by Villehardouin, are to be taken as an evidence of their unworthiness, or sincerity, they were at hand on all occasions wherein religion was concerned; the passion was not peculiar to the illiterate nobles and their followers: Matthew Paris, A.D. 1179, says, "Martyrum patientia et mors prolixius relata, pias mentes conventus in fletus et suspiria commovissent."

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A.D. 1201. experience, had subsided, the duke mounted the pulpit,[k] and spoke to the people as follows: "Behold, Signiors, the honour which the Lord hath shewn you, in disposing the bravest warriors upon earth to seek your alliance in preference to that of all other nations, in so high an enterprize as the rescue of the tomb of our Lord." I cannot repeat all the fair sayings of the duke, but thus was the affair accomplished; and on the morrow letters patent were prepared, on the completion of which, it became known that Babylon[l] was the destination of the croisaders, because the power of the Turks might more effectually be overthrown in Babylon than in any other country. In the mean time it was arranged that, on the feast of St. John, in the year 1202, after the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the barons and pilgrims should assemble at Venice, where the vessels and all

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[k] There were in the church of St. Mark two pulpits: the higher one was appropriated to the doge, when he harangued the people; from the other the gospels were read, and sermons were delivered. "El lateri" simply implies a reading place from "λεκτρον."

[l] Babylon. Cairo in Egypt, not the city in the Euphrates. Egypt was the foundation of the power of Salaheddin, who died A. D 1193. Salaheddin was of Turkish origin, and with his brother Shircoueh had entered the service of Noureddin, sultan of Damascus, who despatched them into Egypt to the assistance of the caliph Adhem, the chief of the Alides; their first step on their arrival was to possess themselves of Adhem's authority, and to substitute for his name in the public prayers the name of his rival, the caliph Mostadi. Adhem died shortly after, and Salaheddin, though he professed to acknowledge the paramount authority of Noureddin, remained absolute master of Egypt, and on the decease of Noureddin, A. D. 1173, deprived his master's children of their inheritance.—*D'Herbelot.*

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things necessary should be in readiness. As soon as the letters were drawn up and sealed, they were carried to the palace of the duke, where he and his greater and less councils were assembled. And there the duke delivered the letters to the ambassadors, and with many tears, knelt and swore upon the saints, [m] faithfully to observe the treaty written in the letters. The forty-six of the council did the same; and the envoys also swore in the name of their lords, that they would in good faith fulfil their engagement. You may conceive that many devout tears were shed on this occasion. And now both parties sent to Rome to engage the apostle Innocent to confirm their treaty, which he did with great joy. [n] A.D. 1201.

[m] "Jura sor sains" is the ordinary expression of the times, and implies an oath made upon holy things. It was usual in taking a solemn oath, to touch the gospel or the holy reliques with the right hand. Thus Villehardouin, No. 51. "Et si jura sor sains de son poing destre." Raymond d' Agiles: "Imperatorem juravimus super Dominicam crucem, et spineam coronam et multa alia sancta." Matthew Paris: "Tactis sacrosanctis reliquiis juraverat," and many others. In the choice of gospel or reliques for this ceremony, I suspect the reliques had the preference. At Canterbury the offerings were in the following proportions: to our Saviour, £3. 2s. 6d. to the virgin, £63. 5s. 6d. to St. Thomas a Beckett, £832. 12s. 3d.

[n] Gesta Inn. c. 25. p. 72. "Ubi ergo Franci societatem hujusmodi firmaverant, utrique simul ad sedem apostolicam nuncios destinarunt, petentes ut summus Pontifex pactiones inter se factas pro subsidio Terræ Sanctæ auctoritate apostolica confirmaret. *Ipse vero, quod futurum erat presagiens, caute respondet:* quod conventiones illas ita ducerent confirmandas, ut videlicet ipsi Christianos non læderent, etc." From this passage, adds Du Cange, the error of Robert de Mons, in asserting that the expedition to Constantinople was undertaken at the instigation of the Pope, is apparent.—It is certain, however, that young Alexius had an interview with the pope upon the subject of his re-

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A.D. 1201. The envoys borrowed in Venice the sum of two thousand marks, which they paid to the duke, to enable him to commence the armament, and then took leave of him in order to return home; and being come to Placentia, in Lombardy, they separated from each other. Geoffry, marshal of Champagne, and Alard Macquereau, departed towards France, the others proceeded to Genoa and Pisa to know what aid those states would render to the land over sea.

XVIII. As Geoffry the marshal was crossing Mount Cenis, he fell in with Walter, count of Brienne, who was on his way to Apulia, to subdue the inheritance of his wife, whom he had espoused after having received the cross, and who was the daughter of king Tancred.* With

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storation, before his application to the pilgrims; and Nicætas expressly states (p. 267) that he was furnished with letters from the pope, praying them to engage in the enterprize. As for the prophetic part of the business, if the holy father foresaw the untimely death of the count of Champagne, the desertion of so many of the pilgrims, the consequent difficulty of raising sufficient money to satisfy the Venetians, or the proposal of the reduction of Zara, as a pledge for the deficiency, he was certainly no ordinary seer. Du Cange, like a good Catholic, handles this subject tenderly.

* Roger, king of Sicily, left a son called William, and a daughter, Constance, who married the emperor Henry VI. William succeeded his father, and died 1166. His only son, William II. died without issue in 1189, on which Tancred, a natural son of Roger, was crowned king, 1190, and died 1195, leaving two children, William and Mary. On the death of Tancred, the emperor seized upon the kingdom of Sicily, in right of his wife, and confined William, the son of Tancred, in prison, where he died; but pope Innocent sent to France to Philip Augustus, to ask assistance under the command of some experienced

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him were Walter de Montbeliard, Eustace de Conflans, and a great company of the croisaders of Champagne. And when the marshal had related the success of his journey, they testified the utmost joy and satisfaction, and said: "We are already on the way, and when you assemble at Venice, you will find us prepared to accompany you." It pleased God, however, to allot them other adventures, so that it was beyond their power to join the army. This was a great mischance, for they were men of distinguished worth and valour. Thus they parted, each pursuing his own way. A.D. 1201.

XIX. Geoffry, the marshal, continued his journey, until he arrived at Troyes, in Champagne, where he found his lord count Thibaut sick and dispirited, but notwithstanding, greatly rejoiced at his return. And when the count understood the good success of his embassy, he was so elated, that he called for his horse to ride forth, which for a long time past he had not done. He arose from his bed and mounted his horse for the last time; for his sickness so continued to increase, that at length he made his testament, bequeathing his treasure, which he had provided for his pilgrimage, to his servants, and men at arms, of whom no

captain, to whom he promised the investiture of the kingdom, and the hand of the princess Mary. Philip Augustus selected the count of Brienne for this enterprize, who accordingly espoused Mary, and passed into Italy with considerable force.

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A.D. 1201. prince of the age had braver, or greater numbers. And he ordained that each one, as he received his bounty, should swear upon the holy gospel, to repair to the camp at Venice, according to his engagement. But there were many of them who ill observed this vow, and deservedly incurred great shame.

XX. Part of his treasure the count directed to be retained and carried to the army, to be employed there in the purposes of the croisade. At length he breathed his last,[p] and of all men made the most exemplary end. Great numbers of his family and vassals assembled at his funeral, which was never surpassed in magnificence. But why should I relate the honours which were paid him? he merited them all; for no man was ever more beloved of his people, and of all mankind. He was interred near his father, in the church of my lord St. Stephen, at Troyes, leaving his wife, the countess Blanche,[q] a fair and gracious lady, who

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[p] "Theobaldus Campaniæ Comes moriens gravem pluribus ingerit luctum, tum quia indolem præferebat egregiam, tum quia cruce signatus Hierosolymitana sperebatur itinere profecturus." — *Monach. Aux. Anno* 1201.

[q] The daughter, and ultimately the heiress, of Sancho VI king of Navarre. This posthumous child was Thibaut the Great, count of Champagne, who on the death of his uncle, A. D. 1234, succeeded to the crown of Navarre.

"Tanta Palatino ne Principe terra careret,
"Transit in hæredem terra paterna novum,
"Qui puer, ut Phœnix de funere patris obortus,
"Continuet patrios in sua jura dies."

Epitaph Thib. V.

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was the daughter of the king of Navarre, and had already borne him a daughter, with child of a son at his death. When the count's funeral was over, Matthew de Montmorency, Simon de Montfort, Geoffry de Joinville the seneschal, and Geoffry the marshal, repaired to Eudes, Duke of Burgundy,[r] and said to him, "Sir, thou seest the loss which the Holy Land hath sustained; we implore thee, in God's name, to take the cross for its succour. We engage to deliver to thee the treasure which our late lord had prepared for the pilgrimage, and we will swear upon the gospel, and will undertake that our companions shall swear to obey thee faithfully, as we would have obeyed him." It was the pleasure of the duke to deny their request, and know that it was unwisely done; and Geoffry de Joinville then bore a similar one to Thibaut, count of Bar-le-duc,[s] who was cousin of the deceased lord, and he also refused it. The affliction of the pilgrims, and of all who were about to undertake the service of God, at the death of the count of Champagne, was excessive; A.D. 1201.

[r] The house of Burgundy was descended from Robert, the grandson of Hugh Capet. Eudes was the sixth duke of that family; and though he seems to have had no great relish for a journey in the flesh to Palestine, whither his father had twice been, yet he was not unwilling to ensure the spiritual benefit. "Odo, inclytus dux Burgundiæ, apud Cistertiam fuit sepultus, *qui decessit cruce signatus*, et condito testamento, pecuniam sufficientem et milites et viros armatos in obsequium Sanctæ crucis ad succurrendum Terræ Sanctæ."—*Alberic. Ann.* 1218.

[s] Thibaut I. son of Renaud II. succeeded his brother Henry I. who died without issue A. D. 1191. His mother was Agnes of Champagne, aunt of Thibaut V.

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A.D. 1201. and they summoned a parliament at the close of the month, at Soissons, to deliberate what should be done. There were present Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, Geoffry, count of Perche, Hugh, count of St. Paul, and many other noble persons.

XXI. Geoffry the marshal opened the consultations by relating the offers that had been made to the duke of Burgundy and to the count of Bar, and their refusal to accept them. "Listen, my lords," then said he, "to what I recommend, provided you approve; Boniface, marquis of Montferrat,[t] is a most valiant knight, and none living has greater renown in arms. If you invite him to repair hither and take the sign of the cross, and offer him the command of the army in the place of the departed count of Champagne, I believe he will not refuse it." Many debates arose upon this proposal; but in the end all men, both high and low, consented; and letters being written and envoys despatched to seek the marquis, he came on the day they had appointed, through France and Champagne, where he was nobly entertained, particularly by the king of France, who was his kinsman. He came to the parliament assembled at Soissons, where numbers of the barons

[t] The house of Montferrat is traced to a William, count of Montferrat, who lived A.D. 610. Boniface was the son of William IV. and of Judith of Austria, and brother of William and Conrad, the princes of Japhia and Tyre.

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and pilgrims were already collected: who, when they heard of the marquis's approach, hastened to meet him, and rendered him every honour. A.D. 1201.

XXII. In the morning the parliament was held in the abbey yard of our lady St. Mary,[u] at Soissons, and there they required the marquis, whom they had invited, and prayed him, weeping and kneeling at his feet, for the love of God, to assume the cross, and take the command of the host in the place of the departed count, and to receive his treasures and his vassals. And he, kneeling also, declared that he freely received them. The marquis having thus complied with their prayers and received the command of the host, the bishop of Soissons and Master Fulk the holy man, and two white abbots, who had accompanied the marquis from his own country, conducted him to the church of our lady, and placed the cross upon his shoulder.[v] The parliament being dissolved, he took his leave on the following

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[u] This abbey was founded by Ebroin, mayor of the palace to Clotaire III. in the seventh century, on the importunities of his wife. Ebroin was a German, a bold and bloody man, who, after many changes of fortune, was murdered, A. D. 681, by a lord named Hermenfroi, whom he had injured.

[v] "Quicunque ergo hujus peregrationis animum habuerit et Deo sponsionem inde fecerit, eique se litaturum hostiam, vivam sanctam, Deo placentem devoverit, signum Dominicæ crucis in fronte sua, sive in pectore præferat; qui vero voti compos ingredi voluerit, inter scapulas retro ponat."—*Pope Urban.* In the crusade against the Albigenses, the crusaders wore the cross upon the breast, to distinguish them from the pilgrims of Palestine.

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A.D. 1201. day to return to Montferrat, for the purpose of arranging his affairs, first charging every one to prepare for the enterprize, and meet him on the appointed day at Venice. In his way home he repaired to the abbey of Citeaux,[w] to the chapter, which is annually held at the feast of the holy cross, in September, where he found a great number of abbots, barons, and other people assembled, among whom was Master Fulk, for the purpose of preaching the croisade. Many assumed the cross in consequence of his preaching, and among them Eudes de Champlette of Champagne,[x] and William his brother, Richard de Dampierre, and Eudes his brother, Guy de Pesmes, and his brother Aymon, Guy de Conflans, and many other gentlemen of Burgundy, whose names are not recorded. The bishop of Autun there also put on the cross, as did Guignes,

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[w] Citeaux, an abbey in the diocese of Chalons sur Saone, five leagues from Dijon, was originally founded A. D. 1098, by Robert, abbot of Molemy, but owes its reputation to St. Bernard, who established the order of Citeaux, in order to restore the monastic discipline, which had been much relaxed among the Benedictines. Robert, abbot of Mont St. Michel, says Du Cange, remarks that in his time all the abbots and bishops who had been members of the order of Citeaux, used to repair to the general chapter held in the month of September at Citeaux, "quatenus negligentias quæ omnino in tot et tantis conventibus nequeunt evitari, emendentur." The two white abbots were the abbot of Loces and the abbot of Trappe.

[x] Eudes and William were grandsons of Hugh, count of Troyes, who A. D. 1125 became a templar, disinherited his son, and left the county of Champagne to Thibaut, count of Chartres, his nephew, from some suspicion which he had conceived of Elizabeth of Burgundy, his wife.

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count of Forest, Hugh de Colemy,[7] Aval de Provence, Peter Bromons, and many others, whose names I know not. A.D. 1201.

XXIII. Thus did the pilgrims of all countries prepare for their enterprize; but a great misfortune befel them on the following Lent, when, as they were about to set forth, Geoffry, count of Perche, fell sick, and made his last testament, by which he commanded that his brother Stephen shonld have his substance, and should conduct his vassals to the army. The pilgrims would gladly have avoided this exchange, had it pleased God. However, the count departed this life, to the great affliction of all who knew him; and with justice, for he was a high and honourable baron, a true knight, and much beloved by all his people. 1202.

XXIV. Between the feasts of Easter and Pentecost, the pilgrims began to depart from their habitations, and many tears were shed upon their departure from their homes, by their friends and kinsmen. They took the road of Burgundy, Mont Jura, Mont Cenis, and Lombardy, and so began to assemble at Venice, where they encamped

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[7] Colemy. M. Du Bouchet, says Du Cange, reads "Coleini," or "Coligny," and maintains that this Hugh was of the house of Coligny, in Bresse.

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A.D. 1202. on an island near the port, called the Isle of St. Nicholas.[a]

XXV. About the same time sailed the Flemish fleet, with a great body of valiant men, under the command of John de Neele, castellan of Bruges, Thierry, the son of Philip, count of Flanders, and Nicolas de Mailly, who promised and swore upon the gospels to count Baldwin, that they would steer without delay through the straights of Morocco and join the army at Venice, or wherever else they might learn their lord was abiding. The count and his brother Henry sent at the same time vessels laden with provisions and other necessaries, and as the armament was gaily and richly furnished, and the greater part of the best serjeants[a] of Flanders were embarked in it, the count and the pilgrims were sanguine in their expectations of assistance from it. But ill did they,

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[a] So called from an ancient church, wherein the body of St. Nicholas was said to have been deposited.

[a] Serjians. Servientes, *Serjeants*. The term "serjeant" was applied to all fighting men beneath the rank of knight, bearing arms beneath the banner of a seigneur, who owed his superior lord for his fief the service of a certain number of men. "Serjeant" in our days has acquired rather a ludicrous latitude of application, but in no instance, that I remember, conveys the idea of "servients." Shakspeare makes some approach to its feudal sense:

"Servant in arms to Harry, king of England."

In the order of Malta, servants at arms were the lowest rank of the brotherhood; they served in war, but being unable to prove their nobility for four generations by both parents, they could never be received into the class of knights; the first rank consisted of knights, the second of chaplains, the third of servants at arms.

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as well as others, fulfil their covenant with their lord, because they dreaded the great peril the army of Venice had to encounter. A.D. 1202.

XXVI. In the same way did the Bishop of Autun, Guignes, count of Forest, Peter Bromons, and many others forfeit their engagements; they covered themselves with shame, and their achievments in the land, whither they betook themselves, were pitiful. Among the French failed Bernard de Morueil, [b] Hugh de Chaumont, Henry d' Araines, John de Villiers, Walter de St. Denis, his brother Hugh, and many others, who dreading the dangers of the passage from Venice, betook themselves to Marseilles, whereby they incurred great shame and censure, and occasioned themselves many disasters.

XXVII. To return to the pilgrims: a great number of them, and among others Baldwin, count of Flanders, had already arrived at Venice, when intelligence came, that many were journeying by other ways to take their passage from other ports. This news caused great consternation among the pilgrims, because those who were already assembled were too few to fulfil the treaty, or pay

[b] Notwithstanding this defection, Bernard de Morueil, who was a noble of Picardy, contrived to be present at the capture of Constantinople, from whence he had the rare fortune to bring home a bottle containing one of the tears of our Lord, which he presented to the abbey of St. Peter, at Salincourt.

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A.D. 1202. the subsidy engaged to the Venetians; they therefore resolved among themselves to send envoys to the pilgrims, and to Louis, count of Blois, who had not yet arrived at Venice, to exhort and implore them to have compassion upon the land over sea, and to depart from no other port but Venice.

XXVIII. Hugh, count of St. Paul, and Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, being selected for this business, rode to Pavia, in Lombardy, where they found count Louis with a great company of brave knights aud serjeants. By their prayers and exhortations, they prevailed upon many, who were about to depart, and embark at other ports, to betake themselves to Venice, but still there were many men of note, who departed by other ways to Apulia; among them were Villain de Nuilly, one of the best knights breathing, Henry d'Ardilliers, Reginald de Dampierre, Giles de Trasegnies,[o] a liegeman of Baldwin, count of Flanders, who had given him five hundred livres to follow him in this enterprize; and with them were many knights and serjeants whose names I pass over. In consequence of these desertions, the host at Venice was seriously weakened,

[o] Giles de Trasegnies, a baron of Hainault, who was the guardian of the son of Philip de Haines, constable of Flanders, whose widow he had married. From this marriage sprang Giles Le Brun, whom Saint Louis, on the death of Imbert de Beaujeu, raised to the dignity of constable of France.

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whence arose many misadventures, as I shall proceed to relate. A.D. 1202.

XXIX. Count Louis and the other barons having repaired to Venice, were received with great joy and festivity, and encamped in the Isle of St. Nicholas with their companions. A more goodly or a braver assembly no eye had ever beheld. The Venetians supplied them in abundance with every thing requisite for their horses and their men; the fleet which they had prepared was so gallantly equipped, that christian man had never seen its equal, and the ships, the galleys, and the palanders, were in snch numbers, that they were thrice too numerous for the diminished host of the croisaders. Ha! what a curse it was, that so many sought other ports, and came not to join the army, for then had Christendom been exalted, and the land of the Infidels subdued.—The Venetians having well performed and even exceeded their engagement, and being fully prepared to sail, called upon the counts and barons to pay down the sum stipulated in the treaty.

XXX. The money for the transport of the army being then to be levied, there were many who declared they could pay nothing, so that the barons were compelled to take what they could. And when they had paid over all they could collect, there was still a great sum deficient.

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A.D. 1202. The barons then consulted together, and said, "The Venetians have truly performed and even exceeded their covenant, but we are so few in number, as to be unable to pay, as we had agreed, for our passage; this has happened by the default of those who have departed to other ports. Wherefore let every one freely contribute of his substance, to enable us to fulfil our agreement, for it is better to give all we possess, than to lose what we have paid already, and fail in our engagement. Moreover, if this assembly be broken up, the deliverance of the land over sea is hopeless." Great dissentions arose between the major part of the barons and others of the people, who said, "We have laid down our own portion of the passage money; let the lords lead us on our pilgrimage, and we will follow them freely; if they will not, we will seek ourselves a passage elsewhere." This language was held by those, who were desirous of the dispersion of the army; but the others replied, "that they would rather spend all their wealth, and march penniless on their enterprize, than that the army should be dispersed or defeated; and that they trusted God in his own good time would return them tenfold for all they gave."

XXXI. The count of Flanders set the example, freely giving up all the money in his possession, and all he could borrow; count Louis, the marquis, the count of St. Paul, and all who adhered

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to their party did the same; and you might see numbers of rich vessels of gold and silver carried to the duke's palace to make up the necessary payment. After all, there were more than thirty-four thousand marks of silver wanting, whereat those who had concealed their wealth, in the determination to contribute nothing, were exceedingly elated, imagining that thereby the army would be dispersed; but God, who confounds the crafty, ordained it otherwise. A.D. 1202.

XXXII. The duke then assembled his countrymen, and said to them, "Signiors, these people can pay us no more, and as they are unable to fulfil their agreement, we might retain all that they have already paid; but such a proceeding would be an act of injustice, which would bring dishonour upon us and our country. Let us therefore propose to them this alternative: The king of Hungary has taken from us Zara,[a] in Sclavonia, one of the strongest places in the world; nor shall we ever recover it, except by the assistance of these croisaders. Let us propose to them, therefore, to assist us therein, and we will respite the payment of the thirty thousand marks of silver which they owe us, until it shall please God to

[a] Zara, anciently Jadera, stands on a small Isle in the Adriatic. William of Tyre styles it Zazara, which nearly approaches its modern appellation. Zara revolted for the fourth time from the Venetians, A.D. 1182, and placed itself under the protection of Bela, king of Hungary.—*Sabel.* dec. 1. lib. 8.

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A.D. 1202. grant us some rich conquest." This proposal, on being made to the barons, was vehemently opposed by those who were in expectation of the dissolution of the armament; but notwithstanding, it was accepted.

XXXIII. On the Sunday, the Venetians, and the greater part of the barons and pilgrims, joyfully assembled in the church of St. Mark, where, before the commencement of the mass, Henry Dandolo, the duke, ascended the pulpit, and addressed the people, saying, "Signiors, you are associated with the bravest people upon earth, for the highest enterprize that mortal man hath ever undertaken. I am a very old man, feeble in health, and have more need of repose than of glory; yet knowing none more capable of guiding and commanding you than myself, who am your lord, if it be your pleasure that I should take the sign of the cross to watch over and direct you, and leave my son in my place to protect our country, I will cheerfully go, and live and die with you and with the pilgrims." The Venetians, on hearing this speech, cried aloud with one voice, "We beseech you, in God's name, to do as you have said, and go with us."

XXXIV. Much pity was excited, and many tears were shed among the people of the country and the pilgrims, because this brave old man, who had so much need of repose, both on account

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of his great age, and inasmuch as he was nearly blind, his sight having been injured by a wound in the head, and yet was of such undaunted courage. Ha! how little did they resemble him, who skulked to other ports to avoid danger!— The duke descending from the pulpit, walked to the high altar and cast himself on his knees, with holy tears, before it, while the cross was placed in his cap, that it might be the more conspicuous. Many of the Venetians followed his example; still the number of the croisaders was not great; though it afforded great satisfaction to the pilgrims of France, when they beheld the duke join with them in assuming the cross, and display such wonderful resolution. Afterwards having determined to sail in the month of September following, they began to prepare the ships, galleys, and palanders, for the embarkation of the army. A.D. 1202.

XXXV. And now happened one of the most marvellous incidents that has ever been narrated. There was at that time at Constantinople an emperor, whose name was Isaac,* who had a

* Isaac II. of the family of the Angeli, was raised to the throne of Constantinople A. D. 1185, on the fall of the tyrant Andromeus. Isaac was an indolent and luxurious man, of ill fame among the western Christians. Matthew Paris lays an alliance with Salaheddin to his charge. "Insuper etiam et idem Salaadinus misit *Idolum suum*, Constantinopolini Imperatoris assensu, ut ibi publice coleretur." That the Saracens had a mosque at Constantinople is evident from Nicætas, p. 273. It is but just, however, to add, that Sabellicus styles him "Christiani nominis Amicissimus," and praises him for his

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A.D. 1202. brother called Alexius whom he had redeemed from captivity among the Turks; this Alexius treacherously seized the emperor his brother, tore out his eyes, and made himself emperor in his stead, keeping him and his son Alexius in close confinement; but the son, having found means of escape, fled on board a vessel to the city of Ancona, and being on his way from thence to visit Philip, king of Germany,[f] who had espoused his sister, he was lodging at the city of Verona, at the time when numbers of the pilgrims were passing through it to the camp at Venice. Whereon those, who had assisted in his escape and still remained in his service, said: "Sir, behold what an army of the best knights in the world is assembled at Venice for the purpose of passing over the sea; implore them to have compassion upon you and your father, who have suffered so much injustice, and if they incline to assist you, engage to conform in all respects to their demands; I have good hope they will have mercy on you." Alexius acknowledged that the

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loyalty and good faith. Isaac is uniformly termed "Sursac" by Villehardouin. "Sursac" is supposed to be a contraction of "Sire Isaac." Radulphus de Diceto calls him Cursac, probably the same contraction *Κυρ Ισαακ*.

[f] Philip of Suabia was brother of the emperor Henry V. on whose death at Messina, 28th September, 1197, he was elected king of the Romans; and though cursed and deposed by pope Innocent, who patronized Otho of Saxony, kept his ground until his murder at Bamberg, 22d June, 1208. Philip had married the widow of Tancred, king of Sicily, a daughter of the emperor Isaac.

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advice was reasonable, and prepared to follow it accordingly. A.D. 1202.

XXXVI. So he sent ambassadors to Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, the commander of the host, and to the other barons, who marvelled greatly at their message, and replied, "We comprehend your proposal; we will send some of our people with your master to king Philip, to whom he is going; and if he be willing to assist us in the recovery of the Holy Land, we will aid him in regaining his territories, which we are aware are unjustly withheld from him and his father." So ambassadors were despatched to Germany to the valet[s] of Constantinople and to Philip, king of Germany.

XXXVII. Before this affair occurred, news arrived in the camp, whereat the barons and pilgrims were greatly grieved, that Master Fulk, the holy man who had first preached the croisade, had ended his days, and was dead.

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[s] Valet has a strange sound for a title of honour; but in Villehardouin's time, it was the ordinary appellation of children of noble houses. The word was variously written, Valet, Vallez, Vaslet: as to its etymology, Du Cange thinks the conjecture of Pithou, who takes it for a diminutive of vassal, probable: Vassaletus, Vasselet, Vaslet, Valet. The conjecture is a startling one; but it must be considered that service in the feudal system did not imply any dishonour; the system itself was a system of service; and even menial services were required of the noblest youths before they could attain the honours of knighthood.

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A.D. 1202. XXXVIII. Afterwards there came, to the great joy of the pilgrims, a company of the bravest knights of the empire of Germany; among others, the bishop of Halberstadt,[h] Berthold, count of Catzenel-bogen, Garnier de Borlande, Thiery de Los,[i] Henry D'Orme, Thiery de Diest, Roger Desnitre, Alexander de Villers, and Ulrick de Tone. The ships and palanders of the barons then set sail, and filled as they were with arms and provisions, knights and serjeants; the shields suspended along the sides, and the gay banners displayed from the turrets[k] of the vessels, by God! it was a most glorious prospect. There were on board three hundred perrieres and mangonels, and engines of every description necessary

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[h] On the capture of Constantinople, Conrad, bishop of Halberstadt, and another reverend robber, the suffragan of Bethlehem, seized upon the fragments of bread which Jesus Christ had blessed and given to his disciples at the supper, and which were preserved in the sacred chapel in a vase of gold and jewels, on which was engraven: *ενθαδε κειται ο θειος αρτος ον ο Χριστος τοις μαθηταις εν τη ωρα του δειπνου διενειμεν ειπων λαβετε, φαγετε τουτο εστι το σωμα μου.*

[i] Thiery de Los, called "*Τερης*" by Nicætas, was of the family of Siger, Seigneur de Los and de Courcelles, who founded the abbey of Anchin, in Arras, A. D. 1089.

[k] Vessels of war were usually provided with turrets of wood, from which missiles might be discharged. "In majoribus enim liburnis, propugnacula turresque constituebantur, ut milites tanquam de muro, ita de excelsioribus tabulatis, facilius vulnerarent et perimerent inimicos."—*Vegecius.* "*πυργοις τε ξυλικοις εν τοις ιστοις αυτων οικοδομησαντες.*"—*Ann. Comn.* "*πλοια καστελλομενα.*"—*Theop.* The banners of the pilgrims ordinarily bore the cross, which each nation blazoned in a different colour. "At cum proprius in eminentiis puppium vexilla crucis et alia Christianæ religionis insignia conspiciantur, clamor ingens tollitur."—*His. Hierus.*

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in the assault of cities. A nobler armament never sailed from port, which was done on the octaves of the feast of St. Remy, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1202. A.D. 1202.

XXXIX. On the eve of Saint Martin, they came before Zara in Sclavonia, and found the city inclosed by lofty walls and towers, and no where could a fairer, stronger, or more wealthy place be found. When the pilgrims beheld it, they were astonished, and said to each other, "How can we expect to take such a city, unless the Lord himself assist us." The swiftest vessels had come before the city, and anchored in expectation of the others; and in the morning, which was bright and clear, the galleys and palanders, and the ships which were behind, joined them, and took the port by force, breaking the strong chain at its entrance, and approached the land in such order, that the harbour lay between the city and themselves. Then might you have seen many a knight and many a serjeant leap from the galleys, and many a good steed and rich pavilion landed from the palanders. The army encamped, and on Saint Martin's day commenced the siege of Zara. At that time all the barons had not joined the army, for the marquis of Montferrat[1] was detained

[1] "Marchio vero Montisferrati qui fuerat a Domino Papa viva voce prohibitus (ne terras Christianorum, nominatim Jaderam, infestarent cruce signati) se prudenter absentans non processit cum illis ad Jaderam expugnandam."—*Acta Innocent.*

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A.D. 1202. upon his own affairs, and Stephen du Perche and Matthew de Montmorency were left sick at Venice. On their recovery, Matthew de Montmorency joined the camp at Zara, but Stephen du Perche acted not so faithfully, for he abandoned the army, and departed into Apulia: with him were Rotrou de Montfort, Hugh de la Val, and many others, who were greatly censured; and they departed from thence into Syria on the passage of March[m] following.

XL. On the morrow of Saint Martin certain of the citizens of Zara came forth, and desired to confer with the duke of Venice, who was in his tent. They offered to surrender to him the city, and all they possessed, provided their lives might be spared. The duke replied, that he would enter into no conditions with them, except with the consent of the counts and barons, before whom he would lay their proposal. Whilst he was consulting with the counts and barons, the faction, of which I have so often spoken as desiring the dissolution of the army, tampered with the deputies, saying, "Why do you desire to surrender your

[m] From the first conquest of Jerusalem, by Godfrey and his companions, the princes and lords, either from devotion or to acquire fame and glory, were continually making the pilgrimage thither; and as it was dangerous to take the sea separately, on account of pirates or enemies, it became a custom to assemble two fleets in the year for the service. The first passage was called "the passage of March," the second "the summer passage," or, as it usually occurred about the feast of St. John, "the passage of St. John the Baptist."

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city? The croisaders will not attack you, of them you need not have any apprehension; if you can defend yourselves from the Venetians, you are safe." They likewise sent Robert de Boves, one of their party, to hold similar language beneath the walls of the city. So the deputies returned to the city, and the treaty was at an end. A.D. 1202.

XLI. In the mean time the duke repaired to the counts and barons, and said, "My lords, the citizens of Zara are willing to surrender themselves, saving their lives, to my mercy, but I will neither accept this, nor any other offer, unless you approve it." The barons replied, "Sir, we think you should accept the offer, and we assent to your doing so." The duke declared he would comply with their opinion; and going altogether to his pavilion to settle the terms of surrender, they found the deputies, by the advice of those who wished evil to the army, had returned to the city. Then arose the abbot de Vaux,* of the order of Citeaux, and said, "Lords, by authority of the apostle of Rome, I interdict you, who are Christian pilgrims, from attacking this Christian city." The duke, hearing this, was exceedingly incensed, and said to the counts and barons,

* Guy, abbot of Val de Sernay, in the diocese of Paris, afterwards bishop of Carcassone. Peter, monk of the same abbey, in his history of the Albigenses, relates that the abbot incurred some personal risk by executing the pope's commands, and that Simon de Montfort and the other lords seceded in consequence of his menaces.

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A.D. 1202. "My lords, this city was yielded to my pleasure, and certain of your people have deprived me of it. You have bound yourselves to assist me in its recovery, and I now summon you to redeem your pledge."

XLII. The counts and barons, and their friends, consulted apart, and said, "Certainly those who have contrived to defeat the surrender of the city, have committed a notorious outrage; nor does a day pass, wherein they do not labour to bring about the ruin of the army; now the pilgrims will incur everlasting shame, if they do not assist the Venetians in the reduction of the city." They then repaired to the duke, and said, "Sir, we are prepared to assist you in the capture of this city, notwithstanding the efforts of those, who have prevented its surrender." Having come to this decision, they encamped on the following morning before the gates of the city, and planted their perrieres, and mangonels, and other engines, of which they had abundance; on the sea side they raised ladders upon the decks of the vessels, and began to cast stones against the towers and walls of the city. This attack endured five days, when, having directed their sappers to a certain tower, they began to undermine the wall. The citizens, perceiving this, proposed the same terms, which by the ill counsel of those who wished the ruin of the army, they had recently rejected.

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XLIII. Zara having been thus surrendered to the mercy of the duke of Venice, saving the lives of the inhabitants,* the duke came to the counts and barons, and said to them, "My lords, by God's favour and yours we have reduced this place, from whence, as winter is at hand, and as we shall find no necessaries in any other, we shall not be able to depart until Easter. The town is very rich, and in every respect well furnished, let us divide it between us; we will take half and you shall have the other." The pilgrims did as the duke proposed; the Venetians took the portion which lay nearest to the beach, and the French had the remainder. A.D. 1202.

XLIV. Quarters having being marked out for every one according to his rank, the army decamped, and took possession of the city. About vespers on the third day after their removal, a great mischance befel the army, by reason of a fierce and bloody fray, which took place between the Franks and the Venetians. Men, from all parts, ran to arms, and the combat was so hot, that the streets were filled with swords, lances, cross-brows, darts, and multitudes of wounded and dead. But the Venetians could not abide the heat of the conflict, and began to lose many men.

* "Jaderensium primores, quibus autoribus totiens civitas defecerat, veniam desperantes media trepidatione dilapsi voluntarium sibi exilium conscivere."—*Sabellicus*, p. 174.

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A.D. 1202. The barons, who were troubled that the evil had gained such a height, ran in their arms to separate the combatants; but no sooner was one place quieted, than the fray broke out in another. Thus it continued during a great portion of the night, when with great difficulty they were separated. This quarrel was certainly the greatest misfortune which had yet befallen the army, which was within little of utter ruin, but God would not permit it. Both nations sustained considerable loss; a great lord of Flanders, named Giles de Landas,[p] was struck in the eye during the battle and died of the blow; many of less note died also. The duke of Venice and the barons laboured incessantly all the week to appease the dispute, and by God's mercy, peace was restored.

XLV. A fortnight afterwards, Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, who had remained behind the army, arrived at Zara, as did Matthew de Montmorency, Peter de Braiequel, and many other good knights. In another fortnight the ambassadors of king Philip and the valet of Constantinople having returned from Germany, the barons and the duke assembled in the palace where the duke was lodged, when the ambassadors addressed them and said, "Lords, we are sent to you by king Philip and his brother, the son of the emperor of Constantinople.

[p] Of Landas, near Orchies in French Flanders.

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XLVI. "And the king makes known to you that he will send his brother, and resign him into God's hands and yours, for his preservation from destruction. And inasmuch as you are journeying for the love of God, and for right and justice, it behoves you to do your endeavour to restore the injured to their inheritance, and your reward shall be the richest[q] that any people ever received, and you shall have effectual assistance in the deliverance of the Holy Land. In the first place if, through God's help, you restore the prince to his country, he will bring back the whole empire of Romania to the Roman church,[r] from which it has been long alienated. In the next, knowing that you have exhausted your treasure and are poor, he will bestow upon you two hundred thou- A.D. 1202.

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[q] Nicætus intimates that Alexius being a boy, was overreached by Dandolo, whom he styles "φρονιμωτερον των φρονιμων." He adds that the prince not only promised the pilgrims "oceans of money," and assistance in their crusade, but even embraced the "absurd superstition of the Latins."

[r] The schism between the Greek and Latin churches arose under the Patriarchate of Photius, who A.D. 866, in the reign of Basil Macedo, drew up five charges of heresy against pope Innocent and the Latins: firstly, that they fasted on the sabbath; secondly, that they ate milk and eggs in Lent; thirdly, that they prohibited the marriage of priests; fourthly, that none but bishops were permitted to anoint with the holy chrism; fifthly, that they had introduced the words "filioque" into the creed of Constantinople. To these enormities the Patriarch Michael Cerularius, A.D. 1054, added these further abominations: that the monks ate lard; that the bishops wore rings; that the priests had shaven chins and baptized by a single immersion; and lastly, that they used unleavened bread in the celebration of the Lord's supper. The real origin of the schism is to be sought in the arrogance of the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople.

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A.D. 1202. sand marks of silver, and provisions for your whole army, great and small. He will himself accompany you to the land of Babylon, or if you prefer it, will send ten thousand men at his own charge for a year, and will maintain also, during his life, five hundred knights in the Holy Land for its preservation. Lords," continued the ambassadors, "we have full powers to conclude this treaty, if, on your part, you are favorably inclined; and surely, as such offers were never made to any people before, those who reject them can have no great passion for glory." The barons replied, they would consider of the subject, and a council was consequently called on the morrow, to which these propositions were submitted.

XLVII. Great debates arose concerning them; the abbot de Vaux, of the order of Citeaux, and his party, declared they could not consent to them, because it was not to plunder Christians that they had left their country, and desired to hasten into Syria. The other party replied, "Fair lords, you can effect nothing in Syria, as you may clearly perceive from those who have deserted us, and betaken themselves to other ports. Moreover, only through Babylon or Greece can the Holy Land be delivered, if ever it be delivered; and if we reject these offers, we shall be censured all our days."

XLVIII. Thus were men's minds divided

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throughout the camp, nor was it wonderful that discord arose among the laity, since the white monks of Citeaux themselves set the example; for the abbot of Loces,* a devout and worthy man, and other abbots of his party, besought and implored the people, that "for God's sake, they would not break up the army, but accept the proffered conditions, since it was by their means, that the Holy Land might most easily be delivered." And the abbot de Vaux and his friends frequently reproached them, saying, "that such an enterprize could not prosper, and that it were better to depart forthwith to Syria and there devote themselves to the good work." A.D. 1202.

XLIX. The marquis of Montferrat, the count of Flanders, count Louis, the count of St. Paul, and all who were of their mind, then declared they were resolved to accept the offers, which it were shameful to refuse. So they assembled in the duke's palace, and the ambassadors being summoned, they confirmed the treaty, which you have read, by oaths and by patents, sealed with their seals; but on behalf of the French only twelve persons made oath, as no greater number of sufficient persons could readily be found.

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* A native of Montferrat, and abbot of a monastery called Sanctæ Mariæ Locedis vel de Locedio. He died after the second capture of Constantinople; wherefore the abbot de Loces, who assisted at the election of the emperor Baldwin, must have been his successor.

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A.D. 1202. L. Among the twelve were the marquis of Montferrat, the count of Flanders, the count of Blois, the count of St. Paul, and eight others of their party. Thus was the treaty agreed upon and signed, and the time fixed for the arrival of the valet of Constantinople was the fortnight after Easter. The croisaders, in despite of the king of Hungary, sojourned the whole winter at Zara, yet men's minds were by no means tranquil; for one party was incessantly labouring to break up the army, and the other to keep it together. Many of the lower classes stole away in merchant ships. In one ship alone departed five hundred of them, who were all drowned and lost. Another party stole off by land, thinking to pass through Sclavonia; but being attacked by the boors of the country, many were slain, and the remnant fled back to the camp. Thus, the army daily diminished.

1203. LI. At the same time a great lord of the army, a German, Garnier de Borland by name, having contrived to depart in a merchant ship, deserted his companions, and was therefore greatly censured. A while after a potent baron of France, called Reginald de Montmirail, desired, by the intervention of count Louis, that he might be sent in one of the ships on an embassy into Syria, and swore with his right hand upon the saints, he and the knights who were going with him, that within fifteen days after they had arrived in

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Syria, and had performed their errand, they would return to the camp. Upon this promise he was permitted to depart, and with him Hervè de Chastel[t] his nephew, William, vidame[u] of Chartres, Geoffry de Belmont, John de Froieuille and his brother, and many others. But they kept not the oath which they had taken, for they returned no more. A.D. 1203.

LII. The welcome intelligence about that time reached the host, that the fleet of Flanders, of which you have before heard, had safely arrived at Marseilles; and John de Neelle, castellan of Bruges, the commander, Thiery, the son of count Philip, and Nicholas de Mailly, wrote to their lord, the count of Flanders, that "they were wintering at Marseilles, and were awaiting his pleasure; and that they were prepared to do whatever he might command." The count, by the advice of the duke of Venice and the barons, commanded them to sail at the end of March, and to repair to him at the port of Modon, in Romania. But alas! they neither obeyed his commands, nor observed then their own promises, but

[t] Hervè de Chastel, of the house of Chateauneuf. This Hervè had a brother called Gervais, bishop of Nevers, who carried home from Constantinople the scull of St. Matthew, which he gave to the church of Chartres, where he had been canon.

[u] Vidame. Vicedominus. Vidames were originally officers appointed by bishops to administer justice, and to protect the temporalities of the church. Their office, like that of advocates and castellans, in process of time became hereditary and independent.

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A.D. 1203. held on their way to Syria, where they knew that no exploit of importance could be undertaken.

LIII. Wherefore we may know that, had not God watched over the army, it could not have been kept together, at a time when so many people were endeavouring its destruction.—The barons then held a parliament, and resolved to send an embassy to Rome, to the apostle, because they were aware that he regarded the capture of Zara with displeasure. They chose as ambassadors two clerks and two knights, whom they judged to be eminently qualified for the purpose. The clerks were Nevelon, bishop of Soissons, and Master John de Noyon, who was chancellor of the count of Flanders; the knights were John de Friaise and Robert de Böves,[a] who all swore upon the saints that they would faithfully execute their trust, and return immediately to the camp.

LIV. Three of them faithfully fulfilled their promises; the fourth, who was Robert de Boves, broke his. This man deserted his embassy, perjured himself, and followed those who had already repaired to Syria. The other three truly executed their commission, and delivered the message of the barons to the apostle in these terms: "The barons implore your forgiveness for the capture of Zara,

[a] Enguerrand, Robert, and Hugh de Boves, were sons of Robert de Boves, who died at the seige of Acre, A.D. 1191.

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which, owing to the falsehood of those who have passed on to other ports, they were reduced to undertake, in order to keep the host together; and they assure you, as their father, that, whatever you may command, they are in all respects ready to obey you." The apostle replied to the ambassadors, "that he well knew the treachery of others had compelled them to act as they had done, whereat he was greatly concerned." And he sent holy salutation to the barons and the pilgrims, and assoiled them as his children,[b] and commanded and implored them to keep the army together: for he knew that if it were once broken up, the service of God in Palestine, could not be undertaken. And he gave full power to Nevelon bishop of Soissons and to Master John de Noyon to bind and unbind the pilgrims, until such time as the cardinal should arrive in the camp. A.D. 1203.

LV. Lent being already come, preparations for sailing on the ensuing Easter were commenced; and the ships being laden, the pilgrims on the morning after Easter, quitted the town and encamped near the port, while the Venetians destroyed the city, with all its walls and towers.[c]

[b] The French were absolved, but the Venetians were not so fortunate; they afterwards obtained absolution from the bishop of Nicosia, in Cyprus, who exercised the power of absolving by delegation of cardinal Peter, then in Palestine.

[c] Pope Innocent writes to the French pilgrims, "Veneti ergo in oculis vestris subverterunt muros civitatis ejusdem, spoliaverunt

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A.D. 1203. After this an event took place, which caused great uneasiness to the pilgrims; Simon de Montfort, one of the chief barons of the army, entered into treaty with their enemy, the king of Hungary, and abandoned the camp to repair to him. With him went Guy de Montfort his brother, Simon de Neufle, Robert de Malvoisin, Dreux de Cressonessart, the abbot de Vaux, and many others. Immediately afterwards Enguerrand de Boves, another great man, and his brother Hugh quitted the camp, with as many of their countrymen as they could allure away. This was an evil to the army, and a dishonour to those who occasioned it.

LVI. The pilgrims, however, set sail with the ships and palanders, with the design of assembling at Corfu,[d] an isle of Romania, where those who first arrived, might await their companions. But before the duke and the marquis departed from Zara with the gallies, Alexius son of the emperor Isaac of Constantinople, who had been sent to them by king Philip of Germany, joined them, and was welcomed with great joy: the duke assigned him as many galleys and transports as he needed, and then, steering with a fair wind, they left Zara and came to the port of Durazzo,

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ecclesias, ædificia destruxerunt, et vos cum eis spolia Jadertinorum divisistis."

[d] Corfu was then a portion of the Eastern Empire. On the division of territory after the conquest of Constantinople, it was assigned to the Venetians.

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where the citizens freely surrendered their city and swore fealty to their lord. From thence they sailed to Corfu, where they found the army encamped before the city, the tents and pavilions raised, and the horses landed from the palanders to refresh them. And when it was known that the son of the emperor of Constantinople had arrived, numbers of brave knights and brave serjeants, mounted on their war horses, went to meet him and received him with much pomp and honour. The prince pitched his pavilion in the midst of the camp, and the marquis of Montferrat, to whose care he had been confided by king Philip, caused his to be raised by its side. A.D. 1203.

LVII. In this rich and plenteous isle they abode three weeks, in the course of which another adverse and disastrous event occurred. A number of those who desired the dispersion of the army, and had always been opposed to the opinions of the majority conspired together, representing that their present undertaking was likely to be perilous and of long continuance; that it were better for them to remain in the isle, and suffer the croisaders to proceed under the direction of the other leaders; and that afterwards they might send to count Walter of Brienne, who was residing at Brundersium, to desire him to send over vessels to transport them to him. I cannot name all the persons concerned in this work, but the chief of them were the following:

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A.D. 1203. LVIII. Eudes de Champlitte of Champagne, James d'Avenes, Peter d'Amiens, Guy, castellan de Coucy, Oger de St. Chiron, Guy de Chappes and his nephew Clerembault, William d'Ainoy, Peter Coiseaux, Guy de Pesmes, Hamon his brother, Guy de Conflans, Richard de Dampierre, his brother Eudes, and many others, who had secretly engaged to adhere to the resolution, and yet were ashamed to profess it openly.

LIX. It may be asserted, that more than half the army were of this conspiracy. And when the marquis of Montferrat, the count of Flanders, count Louis, the count of St. Paul, and the barons who adhered to them, were informed of these proceedings, they were sorely dismayed, and said, "Lords, we shall be in an ill plight, if, in addition to those who have already deserted us, these people withdraw from our standard. We shall then be reduced to utter helplessness and conquest will be hopeless. Let us seek them, and implore them for Christ's sake, to have pity on themselves and on us, and to avoid the shame of preventing the recovery of the land over sea."

LX. This recommendation being adopted, the barons in a body repaired to the valley, where the insurgents were holding their assembly. They took with them the prince of Constantinople, and all the bishops and abbots in the army. Arriving

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in the valley, they dismounted from their horses, which being observed by the others, they alighted also and came to meet them. The barons fell upon their knees, refusing with tears to arise until they were assured that their brother pilgrims would not desert them. And the latter were deeply moved by the sight, and wept bitterly. A.D. 1203.

LXI. And when they beheld their princes, their kinsmen, and their friends on their knees before them, they desired to deliberate upon their request. And consulting apart, they resolved to continue with the army until the feast of St. Michael, on condition of the barons swearing upon the saints, that afterwards within fifteen days from the time of their demanding them, they should be faithfully supplied with vessels for their passage into Syria.

LXII. This compact was thus ratified and sworn to, to the great comfort of the whole army. Having again embarked, the horses having been previously carried on board the palanders, they departed from Corfu on the eve of Pentecost, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand two hundred and three, with all the galleys, the palanders and other ships of war, as well as the merchant men which were in their company. The day was bright and cheerful, and the winds were soft and favourable as they spread their sails before them. And I, Geoffry the marshal of Champagne, who, have dictated this recital, having been

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A.D. 1203. present at the matters therein related, and conscious that it contains nothing but truth, bear witness that so glorious a sight had never been beheld before. Far as our sight could extend, the sea was covered with the sails of ship and galley; our hearts were lifted up with joy, and we thought our armament might undertake the conquest of the world.

LXIII. Thus the pilgrims advanced through the open sea, until they came to the cape of Malea* in Laconia, where they fell in with two ships filled with pilgrims, knights, and serjeants, who were returning from the Holy Land. They were of those who had deserted the army, for the purpose of going by Marseilles; and when they beheld the strength and splendour of the navy, they were so ashamed that they were afraid to declare themselves; but count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault having sent his barge to inquire what men they were, they confessed; and one of them, a serjeant, leaped into the barge from the vessel wherein he was, and cried out to his companions "Give me my property, for I shall join these people, who appear certain of subduing the land." The serjeant was taken in with good will and honorably received at the army. It is well said, that it is never too late to return from evil ways.

* Malea is a promontory of Laconia, the passage between which, and the isles of Cytherea and Crete, was formerly esteemed dangerous.

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LXIV. They sailed to Negropont,[f] a rich isle and goodly city, where the barons held a parliament. From thence the marquis of Montferrat, the count of Flanders, with the emperor, the son of the emperor Isaac, and a great number of palanders and galleys, made a descent upon an isle called Andros.[g] The knights having ridden in arms over the land, the people of the isle returned to the allegiance of the son of the emperor Isaac, and presented so many gifts that peace was granted them. The knights then embarked, and continued their course by sea, when a great disaster befel them in the death of Guy, castellan de Coucy, one of the chiefs of the army, whose corpse was cast into the sea. A.D. 1203.

LXV. The ships which had not proceeded upon that expedition, had entered the passage of Abydos, where the streight of St. George joins the Ægean sea; and sailed to the city of Abydos,[h] which is strongly and pleasantly situated on the

[f] Negropont. Euboea. Soon after the capture of Constantinople, this place was reduced by the Venetians, under Rabanus Carcerius.

[g] Andros, one of the Cyclades, subjected to the Venetians by Marco Dandolo.

[h] Abydos, called Avie by Villehardouin and his contemporaries. Caetaldus states that in his time it was called Aveo. The confusion of the labial letters is well known. Du Cange states that in a charter of Charles, king of Sicily, A. D. 1267, the streight of Abydos is styled "bucca Avidi."

The streight of St. George is properly the Bosphorus; and derives its name from the monastery of St. George of Mangana, which was situated upon the shore without the walls of the city. It is taken for the whole Propontis by Villehardouin.

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A.D. 1203. Turkish side of the streight. There they anchored and landed, and the inhabitants came to meet them and surrendered their city, not having the rashness to withhold it. They staid there eight days waiting for the vessels which were yet behind, taking good care that the people of the city lost not by them the value of a denier. It being harvest in that neighbourhood, they supplied themselves during their stay with corn, of which they had need enough, for their store was very small; and within the eight days the fleet and barons all arrived, God having granted them a favorable season.

LXVI. When they departed together from the port of Abydos, the whole Hellespont appeared studded with ships, galleys and palanders, and presented a sight of incomparable beauty. They sailed up the streight until they reached St. Stephen's, an abbey within three leagues of Constantinople, from whence they had the first prospect of the city. The ships, the galleys and palanders, having reached the shore and cast anchor, you may imagine that all who had never before beheld it, would fix their eyes upon Constantinople, which appeared to be the noblest city in the universe.[1] When they contemplated the lofty

[1] All authors of those days concur in the splendour of Constantinople. "Sed et urbem totam tum interius, tum exterius, simul et ecclesias et monasteria, quorum pene infinitus est numerus, columnas

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walls and goodly towers that enclosed it around; A.D. 1203.
the gay palaces and towering churches, which seemed to be innumerable; the immense dimensions of the city, denoting it was the queen of the earth,[k] they could scarcely believe their senses; nor was there any man, however bold, whose heart did not tremble within him. This was no marvel, for never since the creation of the world, had such an enterprize been attempted by such a handful of men.

LXVII. The counts and barons, and the duke of Venice, having landed, held a council in the minster of St. Stephen. Many an opinion was proposed; but all that passed I shall not pretend to relate. In the end, the duke of Venice[l] rising from his seat, said, "Lords, having been before in this country, I am better acquainted with its

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etiam trophœorum argumenta, arcus quoque triumphales, ducentibus cum magnis proceribus locorum gnaris Dominus Rex peregravit." *Gul. Tyr.*

[k] "Viderunt igitur alii qualiter hoc factum metiantur. Ego in omnibus his, quæ vel ab Historiographis, vel etiam a Poetis referuntur, nil me tale, vel tum magnificum legisse confiteor."—*Guntherus, cap.* 19.

[l] Henry Dandolo had been one of the ambassadors sent by the doge Vitalis to Constantinople, to negociate a peace with the emperor Manuel. Sabellicus, speaking of this transaction, says, "Emanuel interim adversis Venetorum rebus usus, nec ullum esset fraudis genus, quod in Venetorum perniciem intentatum relinqueret, legatos Venetos, quos penes se habebat, contra jus gentium violavit. Eos Vitalis princeps, Græciæ decedens, quum adhuc hostis paci studere videretur, Constantinopolim miserat. Per speciem igitur secretioris colloquii Henricum Dandolum alterum ex legatis, in secretum abductum, candenti ære oculis objecto, visu privavit."

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A.D. 1203. customs. You have undertaken as great and as hazardous an enterprize as was ever attempted, and have therefore every reason for proceeding cautiously. If we land upon the continent, which is of vast extent, our people, being in bad plight for want of provisions, will scatter themselves over it to obtain them; and as the country is thickly peopled, it will be a mercy if we lose not many men, whom, seeing what we have undertaken, we can ill spare. But there are isles, which may be seen from hence, well peopled and furnished with corn and all kinds of provisions; let us land there, and gather in the corn and provisions; and when we are well provided, we will advance upon the city and act as the Lord shall inspire us. For without doubt, those who have store of provisions, will fight more manfully than those who are destitute." This opinion pleased the counts and barons, who returned to their vessels, where they spent the night; and on the morning, which was the feast of my lord St. John the Baptist, the banners and standards were displayed on the turrets, and a fence of shields[m] was ranged along the sides of the vessels.

[m] Les hosches des Escus. Du Cange agrees with Vigenere in supposing that Villehardouin intended in this place, and in No. 88, to describe "the pavissade" of vessels of war; which was a fencework composed of great bucklers, locked together, and ranged above the margin of the vessel, to protect the combatants from the missiles of the enemy. Vegecius thinks that stronger and larger bucklers were used for this purpose: "Scuta quoque validiora propter ictus lapidum, et ampliora sumuntur propter falces et harpagones, aliaque navalia genera telorum."

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Many an one cast his eyes upon his arms,[n] well knowing that the time was at hand, when he should need their assistance. A.D. 1203.

LXVIII. The mariners having raised their anchors and spread their sails, God granted them a favorable wind, and they approached so near to Constantinople, that many of the ships were exposed to the missiles of the crowds, which clustered on the walls and towers. Thus did God put aside the purpose of landing at the isles, as completely as if it had never been proposed; for they made for the main land without loss of time, and cast anchor before a palace of the emperor Alexius, called Chalcedon,[o] which was on the Asiatick side of the streight, opposite to Constantinople. This palace was the fairest and

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Fauchet tells us that bucklers of this description were termed "tallevas," and were impervious to arrows, darts, and to most other offensive weapons These tallevas were afterwards called pavois, whence pavissade. The pavois were so arranged, that between every two there was a space, through which the soldier might aim his blow, and then retire behind the shelter of the pavois.

[n] Du Cange upon this passage is of opinion that by arms Villehardouin intended armorial bearings, and would render the passage thus: "Each one cast his eyes upon his arms (escutcheon) to animate himself to defend them, by reflecting on the valour of his ancestors."

[o] Chalcedon. Χαλκηδων, said to have been founded in the 23d Olympiad, is seated on the Asiatick side of the Bosphorus, and is about ten miles distant from Constantinople. The emperors erected there a sumptuous palace, whither they retired to enjoy the beauties of the situation, and the salubrity of the air. It is now only a miserable village, almost lost in the ruins of its ancient greatness. Nothing remains of its many churches, except a portion of the chapel of St. Euphemia, where the remnant of the Christians yet assemble.

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A.D. 1203. most delightful, that eye ever beheld: yielding all the pleasures that the heart of man can imagine, or the abode of princes can require.

LXIX. The counts and barons landed, and took up their abode in the palace and in the city, while the greater part of their followers encamped around. The horses were brought from the palanders; the knights and serjeants, in complete armour, leaped upon the beach, and none but the mariners were left on board the fleet. The country was beautiful and fruitful, and abounded in every good thing; heaps of corn already mown were scattered over the fields, so that every one might take what he would, and every one was in extreme necessity. They remained the following day at the palace, and on the third day a favorable wind arising, the mariners raised their anchors and unfurled their sails, and steered up the streight to Scutari,[p] a palace of the emperor Alexius, a league beyond Constantinople. There the ships, the galleys and the palanders, anchored.

LXX. The cavalry, which had been left at Chalcedon, marched along the margin of the straight of St. George, opposite to Constantinople, and encamped at Scutari, beyond the army of the French. And when the emperor Alexius

[p] Scutari. *Χρυσοπολις*, a place of great antiquity, stands on the Asiatick shore, opposite to the seraglio.

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observed this, he caused his soldiers to march from Constantinople, and encamp over against them on the European side of the straight, where he erected his pavilions, that he might prevent the French from landing. The pilgrims remained nine days at Scutari, during which, those who needed, and indeed they were the whole army, provided abundance of food. A.D. 1203.

LXXI. At the same time a party of the bravest knights took the field, to protect the host from a surprize, and the foragers, as they rode over the country. Of this party were Eudes de Champlitte of Champagne, his brother William, Ogier de St. Chiron, Manasses de l'Isle, a lord of Lombardy called count Gras,[q] who was a retainer of the marquis of Montferrat, and about eighty lances, all men of courage. At the foot of a mountain, three leagues from the camp, they espied a number of pavilions. It was the great duke[r] of the emperor of Constantinople, who had with him about five hundred Greek knights. As soon as our

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[q] This count Gras is supposed, by Doutremannus, to have been the count de Blandraz, whose father Guy had married the sister of the marquis Boniface; and who, on the death of the marquis, became guardian of his son, and regent of Thessalonica.

[r] Majedux. μεγας δουζ. Michael Stryphnus, who had married the sister of the empress. The μεγας δουζ was an officer of great dignity in the Eastern Empire, and held the command of the seas. This Michael is accused by Nicætas of selling the anchors, the sails, and every thing else belonging to the Greek navy, which could be converted into money. *Nicæt. p.* 268.

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A.D. 1203. people beheld them, they drew up in four divisions, with the intention of making an attack. The Greeks, beholding them, ranged themselves in order of battle before their tents to receive them, and the pilgrims charged them with great vigour. By the aid of the Lord God the combat was of short duration. The Greeks turned their backs and were discomfited at the first shock, and were chased full a league by our men, who possessed themselves of many horses, palfreys, mules, tents, and pavilions, and many things which they needed besides. On their return to the camp, where they were very gladly welcomed, the booty was divided to the satisfaction of all.

LXXII. On the following day the emperor Alexius despatched an ambassador with letters to the counts and barons, whose name was Nicholas Roux,* a native of Lombardy. He found the barons in council at the noble palace of Scutari, and having saluted them in the emperor's name, he delivered his letters to the marquis of Montferrat, who received them, and they were read before all the peers. The letters contained many things that I pass over, but especially desired that credence might be given to the bearer, whose name was Nicholas Roux, to whom the barons said, "Fair sir, we have heard your letters, which desire us to give credence to you, which we shall

* Roux, a Lombard, of the family of the Rossi of Parma.

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willingly do; therefore declare your pleasure." A.D. 1203.
The ambassador being in the presence of the barons, replied, "Lords, the emperor Alexius is not ignorant that you are the most potent princes in Europe, save crowned kings, and are natives of the most warlike country. But he much marvels why you, being Christians, and he also a Christian, are thus come into his territories. He knows you are bound for the Holy Land, to rescue the cross and sepulchre of our Lord. If you are in want, he will cheerfully bestow upon you food and necessaries, so you depart from his land. He desires to avoid doing you injury, not because he lacks the power, for if you were twenty times your number, you could not depart hence without his permission, nor prevent his destroying you, if it were his pleasure."

LXXIII. By consent and by the desire of the other barons, and of the duke of Venice, Conon de Bethune,[t] a brave, prudent, and eloquent knight, arose and replied to the ambassador, "Fair sir, you have declared that your lord greatly marvels that our lords and barons have entered his empire and territories; they are not

[t] Conon de Bethune, the younger brother of William, advocate of Arras, continued in Romania until his death, which happened before the year 1221. The emperor Henry created him seneschal, A.D. 1212, and on the death of the empress Yoland, A. D. 1219, he was unanimously elected by the barons, regent of the empire during the minority of Baldwin II. then only three years old.

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A.D. 1203. his: for he holds them unjustly, and has sinned against God and reason. They are the right of his nephew, who is seated here among us, and is the son of his brother, the emperor Isaac. If your master will throw himself upon his nephew's mercy, and will restore the crown and empire, we will intercede that his offence shall be forgiven, and a sufficiency be assigned him to enable him to live in splendour. As for messages of this kind, be not so rash as to trust yourself hither with them again." So the ambassador departed, and returned to the emperor Alexius at Constantinople.

LXXIV. The barons, having consulted together, decided that on the morrow they would shew Alexius the prince of Constantinople to the inhabitants of the city. The galleys were all equipped for the purpose, and the marquis of Montferrat and the duke of Venice, taking the prince with them, embarked in one galley, and the remaining knights and barons in the others at their pleasure. They rowed before the walls of Constantinople,[n] and shewing the valet to the

[n] The triangular promontory, on which Constantinople is built, is washed on the south by the sea; the harbour bounds another of the sides, and along the base of the Peninsula, a wall extends from Blachernæ at the further extremity of the harbour, to the seven towers on the Propontis, a distance of about five miles. The harbour was secured by a chain; it was therefore before the wall reaching along the sea from the Seraglio point to the seven towers that this procession took place.

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Greeks, proclaimed, "Behold your natural lord, and know that we are not come hither to injure you; but to preserve and defend you, if you return to your duty. For he, whom you now acknowledge as your lord, holds the empire by violence and wrong, against God and against justice. You know how traitorously he has misused his lord and brother, whom he has sinfully deprived of his eyes and empire; his lawful heir is now before you. If you receive him, you will act justly; if you reject him, we will pursue you to utter ruin." None of the people, however, through doubt and dread of the emperor Alexius, seemed willing to acknowledge the prince; so the pilgrims returned to the camp, where each sought his quarters. A.D. 1203.

LXXV. After mass had been said on the morrow, a parliament was assembled on horseback in the open plain. There might be seen many a gallant steed and noble warrior, while they deliberated upon their plan of battle, and the strength and the array of their host. Much debate ensued, but it was at length resolved that the count of Flanders should lead the vanguard, because he had a greater number of good lances, as well as of archers and crossbowmen, than any other lord in the army.

LXXVI. It was also decided that the second division should be led by his brother Henry,

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A.D. 1203. together with Matthew de Valincourt, Baldwin de Beauvoir and other good knights of their country, who had come with them.

LXXVII. The third division was commanded by Hugh, count of St. Paul, Peter of Amiens, his nephew, Eustace de Canteleu, Anseau de Cahieu, and many other brave knights of their country.

LXXVIII. The fourth division was commanded by Louis, count of Blois, who was a great, wealthy and powerful lord, and had in his train many good knights and brave warriors.

LXXIX. Matthew de Montmorency, and Eudes de Champlitte of Champagne, led the fifth division, in which served Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne; also Oger de St. Cheron, Manasses de l'Isle, Miles de Brabans, Machaire de St. Menehold, John Foisnons, Guy de Chappes and his nephew Clerembault, Robert de Rançoi; all these knights rode in the fifth division, which contained much noble chivalry.

LXXX. The sixth division, which was very powerful, was commanded by the marquis of Montferrat. There were with him Lombards, Tuscans, and Germans, and natives of the country which lies between Mount Cernis and Lyons on the Rhone. Of such was composed the division of the marquis, which was appointed to be the rear guard.

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LXXXI. The day when the pilgrims were to assemble on board the ships and vessels was also appointed; when they were to make their attack, and either to live or die. A.D. 1203.

LXXXII. And know that it was one of the most daring adventures that have ever been attempted. The bishops and clergy spoke to the people, instructing them that in this extremity, in which none could foresee what might be God's pleasure concerning him, it was the duty of every one to confess his sins, and dispose of his worldly possessions. This counsel was received by the whole army with great zeal and devotion. At length the appointed time having arrived, the knights embarked, with their war horses,[r] on board the palanders; themselves armed from head to foot; their helms laced; and their horses housed and saddled. Those who were of less note in the fight betook themselves to the heavy vessels; and the galleys were all armed and prepared. The morning was bright after the sun had risen, and the emperor Alexius, with his army in great force drawn up in array, awaited the pilgrims on the opposite shore. The trumpets sounded; and every galley towed a heavier vessel to facilitate its pas-

[r] The war horses, "destriers" of the knights, were covered with a caparison of taffeta, blazoned with their arms, which reached almost to their feet. The Greeks had the same custom of ornamenting their horses of state and war, but none, except the emperor, might use a purple housing.

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A.D. 1203. sage. None asked who were to go foremost, but each one pushed on with all his might to the shore. The knights started up from the palanders, and armed as they were, helm laced and lance in hand, leaped baldrick deep, into the sea. The good archers, the good serjeants, and the good arbalestriers followed, each company forming on the spot where their vessels touched the ground. The Greeks at first appeared determined to oppose their landing, but on the first shock of lances, turned their backs and fled, leaving the landing open; and know that no place was ever more proudly captured. The mariners then began to open the ports of the palanders, and let down the bridges for the egress of the horses, and the knights mounted, and every division formed in the order which had been concerted.

LXXXIII. The count of Flanders who commanded the van, rode on, followed by the other divisions in array, until they came to the place where the emperor Alexius had encamped; but he had already fled to Constantinople, and abandoned his tents and pavilions, which proved a valuable booty. Our barons resolved to encamp by the port before the tower of Galata,[w] where the chain, which stretched from Constantinople,

[w] Galata, which still retains its name, lies on the margin of the harbour, opposite to the seraglio. The quarter of the Jews has the same locality which it had in Villehardouin's time, extending along the harbour, opposite to the city.

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was fastened in such a manner, that every one must pass the chain, who desired to enter the harbour of Constantinople. It was evident to the barons, that if they could not capture the tower and break the chain, their state would be one of great difficulty and danger. So they encamped at night before the tower, in the quarter of the Jews, which is called Stenon, a rich and populous suburb, where all the night they kept a vigilant watch. In the morning, about the third hour, the Greeks of the tower of Galata, aided by others, who had come by water from Constantinople, made a sortie, and our people ran to arms. The first who was ready was James d'Avesnes and his men on foot; and he was sorely put to it, and was wounded in the face by a lance, so that his life was in danger; but a knight of his, Nicholas de Lanlain by name, having mounted his horse, rendered notable assistance to his lord, and behaved himself withal so valiantly, that he acquired great reputation. The alarm being given through the camp, the people flocked from all parts, and charged the Greeks so hotly, that many were slain or taken. Others, unable to regain the tower, fled to the barges which had brought them, but were drowned. Some few escaped as they could; but those who endeavoured to regain the tower, were so pressed upon by the pilgrims, that they could not shut the gate; there a bloody conflict took place, in which the pilgrims stormed and took the tower; and many were the dead and the captives.

A.D. 1203.

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A.D. 1203. LXXXIV. The castle of Galata being thus captured, and the port of Constantinople carried by assault, the men of the host were greatly elated, and returned thanks to Almighty God, while the men of the city were proportionably depressed. The next day, the ships, the galleys and the palanders entered the port, and the barons assembled in council to deliberate what next should be done; whether they should assault the city by land or by sea. The Venetians proposed to plant ladders upon the vessels, and to assault the city from the sea; but the French declared they had little experience in naval warfare, but with their arms and horses would fight fearlessly on the shore. It was therefore decided that the Venetians should attack the city from the sea, and the barons and the pilgrims from the land. So they encamped there for four days.

LXXXV. On the fifth day, the whole army being armed, marched in the order that had been appointed, to the palace of Blachernæ,[x] while the fleet moved into the interior of the port, where

[x] In marching from Galata, to the point opposite to Blachernæ, the pilgrims traversed the whole length of the harbour, a distance of about three miles. The place called Blachernæ, the north west angle of Constantinople, was once without the city; and there the empress Pulcheria, the wife of Marcian, founded a church in honour of the virgin, which the emperor Heraclius inclosed within the walls, in order to preserve it from the Avars. It is unknown by whom the palace was originally constructed; but it was rebuilt by the emperor Manuel, who fortified it with towers, and adorned it with paintings of his victories.

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a river[y] was flowing into the sea, which could only be crossed by a stone bridge, which the Greeks had broken down. The barons caused the people to work all that day and the following night at the reparation of the bridge; and this being accomplished, the host, one division after another, in the morning passed over it, and sat down without opposition before the city. This, at that time, was esteemed miraculous, for there were in the city at least two hundred persons for every single soul in the army. A.D. 1203.

LXXXVI. The barons resolved to encamp betwixt the palace of Blachernæ and the castle Boemond,[z] which was an abbey near the walls. There they pitched their tents and pavilions; and it was a subject of exultation to see, that, though Constantinople on the land side extended three leagues, the army could only undertake the siege of one of its gates. The Venetians by sea continued at work in their ships and galleys; planted their ladders, their mangonels, and their perrieres, and nobly prepared every thing for their part of

[y] The river Barmyssa flows into the farther extremity of the harbour. "Portum autem fluvius ingreditur, æstate quidem modicus, sed hyeme aquis pluvialibus solet fieri torrentior, pontem habens super se positum." The stone bridge is termed by Nicætas, "καμήλων γέφορα."

[z] "Ex procedentes tentoria nostra fiximus inter palatium Imperatoris et palatium Boimond." *Com. S. Pauli Epist.* Du Cange supposes this abbey, or palace, or castle of Boemond, to have been the Cosmideum. Anna Comnena states that Boemond, son of Robert Guiscard, being on his way with Godfrey of Boulogne to Palestine, lodged some time in the abbey, which thenceforward was known by his name.

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A.D. 1203. the assault. The barons also on the land placed their perrieres and mangonels; nor was there any leisure for repose, for there was not an hour either by night or day, in which one of the divisions did not keep watch over the engines and the besieged. Notwithstanding this unremitting attention, assaults either from that gate, or from others, were continually made upon the camp, so that six or seven times a day the whole host was compelled to take arms; nor could they foray for provisions more than four bowshots from the camp. There was little provision left, except meal; little salt flesh, or salt, and no fresh meat, save the horses, which were slain. Indeed the whole store of provision was only sufficient for the army for three weeks. It was moreover a situation of no ordinary peril; for certainly such a force had never before undertaken the siege of so populous a city.

LXXXVII. In consequence of this daily annoyance, the pilgrims bethought themselves of enclosing their camp with stout barriers and palisades, which rendered it more difficult of access, and proportionably more secure. The Greeks were still unremitting in their assaults, and allowed them no opportunity of repose; but they were invariably repulsed with great loss, and were defeated in every attack.

LXXXVIII. One day as the Burgundians were keeping guard, the Greeks made an assault

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with a party of their bravest men; but they were so warmly received, that they fled, and were pursued so closely to the gate, that the pursuers were in danger from the stones cast upon them from the city. There one of the great Greek lords, called Constantine Lascaris,[a] was taken on horseback by Walter de Nuilly. William de Champlitte's arm was broken by a stone; a great mischance, as he was a true and valiant man. I cannot tell all the slain and wounded; but during the skirmish, there was a knight of the company of Henry, brother of the count of Flanders, Eustace le Marchis by name, armed only in gamboison,[b] and steel cap, and shield hanging from his neck, who behaved so valiantly in the repulse of the Greeks, that he gathered uncommon fame. Few days passed wherein the camp was not attacked, and withal, so hotly, that the pilgrims could neither sleep, rest, nor eat, except in arms. An assault from another of the gates was made, in which, the Greeks particularly suffered; but in return a knight called William de Delgi, was slain on our part, and Matthew de Valincourt, after behaving

A.D. 1203.

[a] The brother of Theodore Lascaris, who was afterwards emperor. "Tunc quidem retentus est vir nobilissimus, potentior, et in militia melior omnibus Constantinopolitanis, qui Consiliarius erat imperatoris." *Com. S. Pauli.*

[b] Gamboison. This was a kind of shirt, reaching to the knees, over which the knight wore his coat of mail. It was necessary that this vestment should be of considerable strength and thickness, to prevent the mail from wounding the flesh. The shield was suspended by a thong from the neck of the knight, who, by this means, was enabled to use the two-handed sword.

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A.D. 1203. nobly, lost his horse, which was killed under him upon the pont-levis of the gate. All who were in this meleè fought bravely.

LXXXIX. At the gate beyond the palace of Blachernæ,[c] from whence the Greeks more usually made their sorties, Peter de Braicuiel acquired more distinction than any other; indeed he was stationed nearest to it, and therefore more frequently engaged. After this toil and peril had endured ten days, on a Thursday morning the ladders and all things necessary for a general assault were prepared. The Venetians prepared themselves by sea; and it was arranged that two of the six divisions should continue on guard in the camp, while the remaining four marched to the assault of the city. The marquis of Montferrat with the division of Champagners and Burgundians, and Matthew de Montmorency, guarded the camp on the land side; and the count of Flanders, with his people; Henry his brother, Louis, count of Blois, the count of St. Paul and their liegemen, advanced to the attack, and succeeded in planting two ladders against a barbican. The walls were crowded with Danes and Eng-

[c] Dr. Walsh states that the wall of Constantinople, in the vicinity of Blachernæ, is of an inaccessible height; and having therefore never been made the object of attack, continues surprizingly perfect. The more accessible portion of the wall commences at the Egri Kapousi, or crooked gate, and this gate, being nearest to Blachernæ, is most probably the one intended by Villehardouin.

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lish;[a] a bold and violent assault took place; and certain knights and two serjeants mounted the ladder, gained the wall to the number of fifteen, and fought with sword and axe, hand to hand. The defenders of the tower rallied, and so fiercely repulsed the assailants, that two of them remained prisoners, and were carried before the emperor Alexius, to his singular gratification. Thus to the great discomfort of the barons, did this assault entirely fail, many of the French having been hurt or wounded. Nor were the duke of Venice and the Venetians idle; for their vessels, marshalled in a line which extended more than three bowshots, began to approach the towers and the wall which stretched along the shore. The mangonels were planted upon the decks, and the flights of arrows and quarrels were numberless, yet those within the city valiantly defended their posts. The ladders on the ships approached the walls so closely, that in many places it became a combat of sword and lance, and the shouts were so great that they were enough to shake sea and earth; but the

A.D. 1203.

[a] Danes and English. By this term is intended the body of barbarian guards, so celebrated in Byzantine history, who were called Barangi, or Varangi, and are supposed to have been Anglo-Danes. Ordericus Vitalis says, they were the Saxons who fled from England, on its conquest by William the Norman, A. D. 1066. Whatever obscurity there may be respecting their original settlement at Constantinople, it is certain that the Varangians were in the service of the emperor Alexius, shortly after the year 1081, and continued during many generations to be the body guards of the emperor. Their arms were, as Villehardouin writes, axes; another evidence of their Saxon or Danish origin.

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A.D. 1203. gallies notwithstanding could find no opportunity of reaching the land.

XC. Now shall you hear of the dauntless valour of the duke of Venice; who, old and blind as he was, stood upon the prow of his galley, with the standard of St. Mark spread before him, urging his people to push on to the shore on peril of his high displeasure. By wondrous exertions they ran the galley ashore, and leaping out, bore the banner of St. Mark before him on the land. When the Venetians saw the banner of St. Mark on the land, and that their duke's galley had been the first to touch the ground, they pushed on in shame and emulation, and the men of the palanders sprang to land in rivalry with each other, and commenced a furious assault. And I, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, the author of this work, affirm, that it was asserted by more than forty persons, that they beheld the banner of St. Mark planted upon one of the towers, and none could tell by what hand it was planted there; at which miraculous sight the besieged fled and deserted the walls, while the invaders rushed in headlong, striving who should be foremost; seized upon twenty-five of the towers, and garrisoned them with their soldiers. And the duke despatched a boat with the news of his success to the barons of the army, letting them know, that he was in possession of twenty-five towers, and was in no danger of being dislodged.

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XCI. At this the barons were so transported with joy, that they could scarcely credit their senses. And the Venetians began to send to the camp in boats, the horses and palfreys, which they had seized within the city. And when the emperor Alexius saw that his foes were within the city, he sent a strong force to repel them. The Venetians, seeing that they could not keep their ground, raised a fire betwixt the Greeks and themselves, which, the wind being favourable, spread and blazed so fiercely, that the Greeks could not see the Venetians, who retreated to the towers, which had been captured and left in the rear. A.D. 1203.

XCII. Whereupon the emperor Alexius issued from the city, by gates about a league distant from the camp, with his soldiers, whose numbers were so great, that one would have thought the whole human race were assembled. Having marshalled them in the open plain, he advanced towards the camp; and as soon as they approached within sight, the pilgrims from all quarters sprang to arms. Henry, the brother of count Baldwin, Matthew de Valincourt, and Baldwin de Beauvoir, were that day holding the watch; and against the quarter where they were stationed, the emperor Alexius had directed a strong body of his soldiers to make a vigorous sally from three of the gates, while he attacked the camp on the other side. The six divisions which had been formed, marched

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A.D. 1203. out, and formed their line before the barriers and palisades; their serjeants and esquires on foot in the rear of the horses, and the archers and arbalestriers in the front. There were also about two hundred knights, who being destitute of horses, were formed into a squadron on foot; and thus they awaited the attack in the front of the fortifications. It was a prudent resolution; for had they advanced into the open country, the numbers of the enemy were so great, that the pilgrims would have been overwhelmed by the crowd.

XCIII. The whole plain appeared alive with soldiers, who advanced slowly and in good order. It seemed to be a service of no ordinary peril, that with six battalions we should dare to oppose sixty, the least of which was greater than the greatest of ours. But the French were so arrayed that they could only be attacked in front, and the emperor Alexius advanced so near, that the armies were within bowshot of each other. When the duke of Venice was informed of these circumstances, he commanded his men to abandon the conquered towers, declaring he would live or die with the pilgrims; and descending himself with all the people he could collect, he came without delay to the army. In the mean time the pilgrims and the Greeks remained for a considerable space opposite to each other, the Greeks not daring to advance to the charge, the pilgrims averse from quitting their barricades. The emperor Alexius,

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perceiving he could make no impression, began to retreat with his people, and after having rallied them, retraced his steps. On this, the host of the pilgrims advanced slowly towards him, and the Greeks continued to retreat, until they had reached a palace called Philopas.[e] And indeed God never delivered people from more imminent peril than that which this day threatened the pilgrims, the boldest of whom rejoiced when it was past. In this manner the conflict was that day deferred, it being God's pleasure that no more should be effected. The emperor Alexius returned to the city, and the pilgrims to their camp, where, being weary and fatigued, they put off their armour; but they had little to eat or drink, there being a great scarcity of provisions. A.D. 1203.

XCIV. But behold the miracles of our Lord, who displays them according to his pleasure! On the same night the emperor Alexius, having possessed himself of as much treasure as he could carry away, with such of his people as were willing to follow him, fled, and abandoned the city.[f] Those who remained in Constantinople

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[e] Philopas. A palace standing in a delightful plain called φιλοπατιον, where the emperors and their court were in the habit of walking, or riding for their amusement.

[f] Nicætas describes Alexius, as "a man without pride or austerity, easy of access, and excelling all in gentleness and mercy; yet after his crime against his brother, he continually dreaded the hour of retribution, and his temper became soured by solicitude and remorse." *Nicæt.* p. 271.

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A.D. 1203. were dismayed; and repairing to the prison, where the blind emperor Isaac was confined, they clothed him once more in the imperial robes, led him to the palace of Blachernæ, placed him on the throne, and again proffered their allegiance. They then, by the advice of the emperor Isaac, sent messengers to the pilgrims, to inform the son of the emperor Isaac, and the barons, that Alexius had fled from the city, and that the emperor Isaac was restored. When the valet knew what had taken place, he called the marquis Boniface, who summoned together the barons of the army, at the prince's tent, and laid the intelligence before them. I cannot describe their joy at the news, but never since the creation was greater manifested; and thanks were devoutly rendered by all to Almighty God, because in so brief a space he had raised them, low as they were, above all their difficulties. It is a true saying, that he, whom the Lord assists, may despise human malice.

XCV. At the dawn of day the pilgrims prepared to arm, and all armed themselves completely, because they distrusted the Greeks. But men, one or two at a time, began to arrive at the camp; and all agreeing in the same story, the counts and barons, and the duke of Venice, resolved to send messengers into the city, to learn the true state of affairs; and if the representation were found to be true, to require the father to confirm the treaties entered into by the son, before

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the latter should be permitted to enter the city. A.D. 1203.
Matthew de Montmorency, and Geoffry the marshal of Champagne, were chosen ambassadors, and two Venetians also were added by the duke of Venice. The ambassadors being conducted to the gate, which was opened to them, alighted from their horses, and found the Danes and English, with their axes, ranged from the gate to the palace of Blachernæ. There they beheld the emperor Isaac, attired in such splendour, as to dazzle their imagination; the empress, a most fair lady, the daughter of the king of Hungary, sat beside him; and there were such crowds of high lords and noble dames, clothed in magnificent vesture, that there was scarcely room to pass: for all those who yesterday were the emperor's enemies, were now become the most submissive of his friends.

XCVI. The ambassadors being come into the presence of the emperor Isaac, and of the empress and their attendants, by whom they were received with much courtesy, said, "that they had a message to deliver privately from his son, and from the barons of the host." On which the emperor arose and retired into a chamber, taking with him only the empress, his chamberlain, his interpreter,[s] and the four ambassadors. Geoffry, marshal of Champagne, spoke by consent for the other am-

[s] Interpreters of foreign languages were styled by the Greeks of the empire Δραγόμανοι. One of the great officers of the court had the title of "Grand Interpreter."

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A.D. 1203. bassadors, and said, "Sir, you must be sensible of the service we have rendered your son, and how faithfully we have accomplished our treaty with him. He cannot with justice return to Constantinople, until his part of the treaty is also performed; wherefore, as your son, he beseeches you to confirm the treaty, in the same terms and manner, in which it was originally made."

XCVII. "What are the terms?" demanded the emperor. "They are these," replied the ambassadors, "in the first place, to bring back the empire of Romania to obedience to the see of Rome, from which it has long been separated; next, to supply the army with two hundred thousand marks of silver, and with a years' provision for high and low; to send with us in his own ships, ten thousand auxiliaries, and to keep them one year at his proper charge; finally, to maintain perpetually in the Holy Land during his life, five hundred knights for the protection of the holy sepulchre. Such is the covenant which your son has made with us; and which is assured by his own oath, and sealed patents, and by those of Philip, king of Germany, your son in law; and this covenant we desire you to confirm."

XCVIII. "Indeed," said the emperor, "this covenant is of no trifling importance, nor do I see how we shall be able to fulfil it. But you have so well deserved both of him and of me, that if we

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were to give you the whole empire, it would not exceed your merits." Much conversation ensued, but in the end, the emperor ratified the treaty, in the terms in which his son had granted it by oath, and by his letters patent, sealed with his golden bull. The letters having been delivered to the ambassadors, they took leave of the emperor Isaac, and returned back to the camp, where they informed the barons of the success of their embassy. A.D. 1203.

XCIX. The barons then mounted their horses, and conducted the valet with much pomp into the city to his father; and the Greeks opened the gates, and received him with joy and festivity. The delight of the father and the son was excessive, for they had been long separated, and now, by God's favour and the pilgrims' courage, had been raised from the depths of wretchedness, to the highest pitch of earthly greatness. The joy was great in Constantinople, as well as in the camp, where the pilgrims were exulting in the victory, which God had vouchsafed them. The next day, the emperor implored the counts and barons, and even his son, that for God's sake they would remove their camp towards Stenon, on the farther side of the port, because if they continued in the city, he was fearful some fray might arise betwixt them and the Greeks, which might prove its destruction. They replied, that having already done so much in his service, they would not now

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A.D. 1203. deny any thing he desired: so they encamped on the farther side, where they passed three days in peace and repose, and in the midst of plenty.

C. It may be imagined that numbers of the pilgrims would desire to visit Constantinople, a city, which for the splendid mansions and aspiring churches which adorned it, and in the immense riches it contained, surpassed every city in the world. Of holy reliques,[h] I need only say that it contained more than all Christendom combined. The Greeks and Franks enjoyed equal privileges in merchandizes and all other things; and it was arranged by mutual consent between them, that the new emperor should be crowned in the beginning of August, at the feast of my lord St. Peter. And it was done accordingly.

CI. He was crowned with all the solemnity and magnificence peculiar to the empire of the East. The emperor then began to discharge the debt which he owed to the pilgrims.[i] What they

[h] Constantinople was a depôt of reliques, collected from all parts of the East. "Utinam posset in me corpus, quod concupiscit spiritus, ut urbem a cœli rege Jesu Christo, et a principe terræ Constantino in Christo fundatam videre; et in eâ non ædificia, vel ornamenta, sed fidem Deo subditorum Principum, et Prophetarum, Apostolorum, Evangelistarum, et multorum Martyrum, de diversis mundi partibus illuc translatorum, velut commune cœmenterium, videre et adorare possem." *Hist. Hierus.*

[i] "Whatever," says Nicætas, "the imperial treasury afforded, whatever had been taken from the friends of Alexius, was given by Isaac, with an unsparing hand, to the most greedy and luxurious of all nations; even

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received, they justly appropriated, and restored to every individual the money which he had advanced at Venice. The young emperor frequently visited the barons,[k] and paid them every possible honour. One day he came privately to the pavilion of the count of Flanders, and having sent for the duke of Venice and the more powerful barons, he opened his mind to them in these words: "My lords, that I am emperor is owing to God and to you, who have done me greater service than was ever rendered to Christian man before. But you must be aware that there be many, who shew me a fair countenance, and love me not in their hearts; and the Greeks have not forgotten that it was by your valour that I recovered mine inheritance. Now the time of your departure draws near, and the alliance betwixt you and the Venetians endures only until the feast of St. Michael; and within that short space I cannot execute all I have promised. The Greeks hate me so bitterly on your account, that if you quit me I shall perhaps lose my empire and my life. But if you will consent to my present request,

A.D. 1203.

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the churches were profaned; the holy images were stripped of their ornaments; and the consecrated vessels were carried off to satisfy the rapacity of the Latins."—*Nicæt.* p. 273.

[k] "Alexius disgraced, with many serious crimes, the splendour and majesty of the purple; for he frequently repaired with few attendants to the camp of the Barbarians, and there passed days together in gaming and debauchery. One day his companions in sport snatched the golden diadem from his head, and replaced it with a woollen cap."—*Nicæt. p.* 275.

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A.D. 1203. deny any thing he des
the farther side, wher
peace and repose, and,

... end of March, I will ...
... for a year from the feast ...
... and will pay all the subsidy to the ...
... and supply you with whatever ...

... and ... Easter. Within that term my
yC. It may be imagined th
government would desire so firmly established, that I shall be in no danger. I shall have discharged, by means of my revenues, the debt owing to you; I shall have equipped a navy to go with you in person, or to send forces according to our treaty; while you will have the whole summer for your campaign."

CII. The barons replied they would consult together in private. They were aware that his representation was true, and that the proposed measure was most expedient both for the emperor and themselves; but they replied, that they had not the power of agreeing to his proposal, without the general consent of the pilgrims; and that they would submit it to them, and inform him of their decision. The emperor Alexius then returned to Constantinople; and an assembly of the army being appointed for the following day, all the barons and chieftains, and the greater part of the knights, were summoned, and the proposition of the emperor was laid before them.

CIII. Great discord, as had often happened before, arose thereon, by means of the party which wished the dissolution of the army, thinking it

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too long. And this party, A.D. 1203.
trife at Corfu, called upon
r oaths, and said, "Give us
ch you have sworn to do, for we
nto Syria." The others implored
them to remain, saying, "Lords, for God's sake
let us not wilfully cast away the glory which he
has given us! Winter is nearly at hand; and if
we go to Syria, how shall we encamp? Thus will
the service of God be defeated. But if we remain
until March, the emperor will be established in his
power, and we shall be well supplied with food
and riches. Then may we repair with advantage
to Syria, and from thence to the land of Babylon;
and our association will continue to St. Michael's
day, and in reality to the following Easter; for
the Venetians will not be forward to depart from
us during the winter. This is the way by which
the land over sea may be redeemed."

CIV. But no reasons good or ill availed with those who desired the dissolution of the army, so that they might attain their end. Those, however, who desired the contrary, by God's assistance, laboured so effectually, that the matter was brought to a favourable termination. The Venetians agreed by oath to retain their fleet for one year from the feast of St. Michael ensuing; the emperor Alexius paid them as he had proposed; and the pilgrims swore, as on the previous occasion, to continue their alliance for the same term.

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A.D. 1203. Thus was peace and concord restored in the host; but a great evil befel them in the death of Matthew de Montmorency, one of the noblest knights of France, who was universally honoured and beloved. It was the greatest loss which could happen to them from the death of a single man. He was buried in the church of my lord St. John, of the hospital of Jerusalem.

CV. Afterwards, by the consent of the Greeks and Franks, the emperor Alexius departed from Constantinople with a great company of men at arms, to reduce the remaining provinces of the empire beneath his sceptre. With him went many of the barons, while the others remained to guard the camp. The marquis of Montferrat,[1] the count of St. Paul, Henry the brother of count Baldwin, James d'Avesnes, William de Champlitte, Hugh de Colemy, and many other knights, accompanied him on this expedition.

CVI. Those who continued in the camp were Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, Louis, count of Blois and Chartres, and the greater part of the pilgrims. Wherever the emperor Alexius marched, all the Greeks, on both sides the straight, came in and returned to their allegiance; and did fealty and homage as to their liege lord,

[1] Nicætas asserts that the emperor Alexius paid 1600 pounds of gold to the marquis of Montferrat, to induce him to accompany him in this expedition.

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saving their duty to Johannizza, king of Walachia and Bulgaria. This Johannizza was a Walachian, who had revolted against his father and uncle, and in the course of twenty years war had conquered so much of their territory, that he was become a powerful king, and occupied almost half the country, which lies on the western side of the straight of St. George. This man sent no acknowledgment to the emperor, nor paid him the customary homage. A.D. 1203.

CVII. During the absence of the emperor Alexius with the army, a misfortune occurred at Constantinople, from a fray, which arose betwixt the Greeks and the Franks who were abiding in the city. During the quarrel some unknown persons set fire to the city; and the fire spread so rapidly, and burnt so terribly, that it was beyond the power of man to extinguish, or subdue it.[m] When the barons, who were encamped on the farther side of the port, beheld the fire, they were exceedingly troubled, especially to see churches and palaces sinking in ashes to the ground. The streets, where the richest merchandizes were kept, blazed beyond help in the flames. The fire extended from the vicinity of the port, through the

[m] Nicætas charges a party of drunken Franks, with raising this fire. They had undertaken, in their cups, to destroy the Saracen mosque, and the Greeks assisting the Saracens to repel them, they set fire to the city; "and all the fires," adds the Rhetorician, "which had ever happened in the city, were as nothing in comparison with this."

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A.D. 1203. most crowded parts of the city, to the sea on the other side, near the church of St. Sophia, and continued, in despite of human efforts, to burn for eight days, presenting a front of fire, which extended more than a league.

CVIII. The loss both of property and treasure consumed, and of the lives of men, women, and children who were burned, exceeded calculation. All the Latins who were domiciled at Constantinople[n] dared no longer remain there; but, whatever might be their nation, carried off their wives and children, and all they could save from the fire, and embarking in boats and barges to the number of fifteen thousand, crossed over the port to the pilgrims. Their departure was seasonable, considering the evil which had occurred; for from that time suspicion arose between the Greeks and the Franks, nor were things common to both nations as before; though neither party could tell to whom this misfortune was to be attributed, nor allege any just reason of complaint against the other.

CIX. About the same time, to the affliction of the barons and the army, departed the abbot

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[n] These Latin families had been settled in Constantinople from the time of the emperor Manuel, by whom they were greatly favoured. "Dum viveret Latinos ita dilexerat quod suas non nisi per eos expeditiones ageret, et primis eos palatii honoribus insigniret."—*Monach. Aux.* Nicætas complains of the barbarian predilections of Manuel.

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de Los, a Cistercian; a wise and holy man, who had uniformly laboured for the general good. The emperor Alexius continued a long time absent with his army; nor did he return to Constantinople, until the feast of St. Martin. Great joy was testified at his return; the Greek lords and ladies of Constantinople, surrounded by their friends, advanced in crowds to welcome him, and the pilgrims joined in the procession. The emperor retired to the palace of Blachernæ, and the marquis of Montferrat and the other barons returned with the pilgrims to the camp. A.D. 1203.

CX. The emperor Alexius thinking his power sufficiently established, and that he could now support himself without their assistance, grew reserved towards the barons and those who had rendered him such signal service, nor did he visit their camp as formerly. The barons sent to him, and desired him to make the payment he had promised; but he put them off from time to time, occasionally making them small and paltry payments, which at last entirely ceased. The marquis of Montferrat, who had been more in his interest than the other barons, and was esteemed by him, took frequent opportunities of reproaching him with the wrong he did them; with the great and unequalled service they had rendered him; and with the pitiful evasions he practised, to avoid the performance of his oath. But at length it became evident that the emperor's intentions were evil;

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A.D. 1203. and the barons and the duke of Venice having summoned a parliament, recommended that, since it appeared the emperor would not fulfil his covenant, and was therefore unworthy of belief, they should depute sufficient ambassadors to require the performance of the treaty, and to remind him of the service they had rendered him; that if he intended to act justly, it were well! if not, that they should defy him in the name of all.

CXI. Conon de Bethune, Geoffry de Villehardouin, the marshal of Champagne, and Miles de Brabant, were chosen ambassadors; and the duke of Venice deputed three of his chief counsellors. These nobles having mounted their horses, their swords girt on, rode together to the palace of Blachernæ; though, from the habitual treachery of the Greeks, it was no trifling danger they encountered. Having alighted at the gate[o] and entered the palace, they found the emperor Alexius and his father, the emperor Isaac, seated together upon two thrones. Near them was the empress, the sister of the king of Hungary, and mother in law of Alexius, a goodly and virtuous lady. Numbers of powerful lords were present, and the court shone with more than the usual lustre.

CXII. By desire of the other ambassadors, the

[o] The privilege of riding into the palace was confined to the emperor. When the emperor John Palæologus was at Ferrara, he rode into the pope's palace, but his brother walked by his side.

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wise and eloquent Conon de Bethune spoke. A.D. 1203.
"Sir," said he, "we are deputed to you by the duke of Venice and by the barons of the host, to remind you of what they have done for you, which indeed is sufficiently apparent to all mankind. You and your father have sworn to perform faithfully the covenant you had made with them; your letters patent to that purport are in their possession; but though you have often been called upon, you have not fulfilled that treaty as you were bound to do; and we again summon you, in the presence of your lords, to perform all that is stipulated between you and them. If you do so, all may be well! if you refuse, know, that from this hour, they renounce you, both as their lord and friend, and will pursue you to utter extremity. But they would have you to know that treason is not their practice, nor the fashion of their country, nor do they make war on you, or on any one, without first sending an open defiance.[p] This is our errand; you must decide according to your pleasure." The Greeks were exceedingly surprized and incensed at this defiance, saying, that none before had dared to defy the emperor of Constantinople in his own palace.

[p] It was the noble custom of the Teutonick nations to commence no war without a previous defiance. This was thought necessary by the emperor Frederick, even to the Infidel Saladin. "Et quia imperialis majestas neminem citra deffectionem impetit, sed hostibus suis bella semper indicit, destinatus ab Imperatore ad Saladinum nuntius, ut vel Christianorum universitati, quam læsit, satisfaciat in plenum, vel diffiduciatus, se præparet ad congressum."—*Hist. Hierus.*

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A.D. 1203. Alexius also testified the utmost displeasure at the ambassadors, as did all the Greek lords, who had formerly been their friends.

CXIII. The tumult within was very great, but the ambassadors turning round, reached the gate, and immediately mounted their horses. As soon as they were beyond the gate, they congratulated themselves upon their extraordinary escape; for it was a mercy that they were not murdered, or imprisoned. On their return to their camp, they related how they had sped to the barons. War was immediately began, and each nation annoyed the other to the extent of its power, both by land and by sea. Often did the Greeks and Franks encounter each other; but, thanks be to God! always to the discomfiture of the Greeks. Thus did the war proceed until mid-winter, when the Greeks devised this stratagem: Having selected seventeen great vessels, they filled them with dry wood, pitch, and other combustibles, and waited for a wind which should blow towards the fleet of the pilgrims. One night, at midnight, they set fire to the vessels, and loosing the sails to the wind, the flames blazed aloft, and the whole sea appeared to be on fire. In this state they were driven towards the fleet of the pilgrims, who, from all parts, ran to arms on the first alarm.

CXIV. The Venetians, and all who had ships of their own, hastened to their vessels, striving

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with all their might to save them. And I, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, the author of this work, declare that no seamen ever laboured more manfully than the Venetians. For leaping into their boats, and grappling the fire vessels with long hooks, they dragged them by force out of the port, in defiance of the Greeks, and towing them into the current, sent them burning down the straight of St. George. Multitudes of the Greeks were assembled on the shore to behold the sight, and their shouts were enough to shake the solid earth. Some jumped into the boats and skiffs to obstruct the pilgrims, who were endeavouring to save their ships, and many were grievously wounded. A.D. 1203.

CXV. As soon as the chivalry of the army heard the cries, they armed themselves and marched out, and drew up in order of battle on the plain; and fearing lest the Greeks should attack them at the same time by land, endured this labour and trouble until daylight. But by God's favour only one ship, a Pisan, filled with merchandize, was lost, having been consumed by the fire. The army that night was in extreme danger; for had the ships been destroyed, we should have been unable to move either by sea or land, and should in all human probability, have been lost.

CXVI. The emperor Alexius being thus em-

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A.D. 1203. broiled with the Franks, and no possibility of peace, the Greeks conspired together to betray him. There was a Greek lord, called Mourzuphles,[q] a favourite of the emperor, who had done more than any other to set him at variance with the Franks. At midnight, as the emperor Alexius was sleeping in his chamber, Mourzuphles, and the other conspirators, having corrupted his guards, seized him in his bed, and dragged him to a dungeon. Mourzuphles then assumed the purple buskins,[r] and by the conntenance and assistance of the other Greeks, made himself emperor,[s] and was crowned in the church of St.

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[q] Alexius Ducas, called Mourtzuphles, from his shaggy and conjoined eyebrows. The family of Ducas had for a time possessed the sovereignty of the empire. Alexius Ducas Mourtzuphles, held the office of Protovestiare.

[r] These purple or scarlet buskins, the mark of sovereignty in Constantinople, were a sort of boot, or hose, reaching to the knee, and ornamented with pearls and embroidery. Distinctions of this kind were also used in the West. "Pedes illius sotularibus in superficie leunculos aureos habentibus munirentur." *His. Gauf. Ducis Norman.* "Induuntur caligis sericis et hyacintinis, intertextis per totum liliis aureis." *Ordo Consec. Reg. Franc.*

[s] "A great crowd being collected in the cathedral, the senate and the college of ecclesiasticks were assembled to consider of electing an emperor; but when we collected their votes, we could by no means decide upon deposing the present, and electing another emperor. The rabble however, foolish and changeable, having no guide but their passions, refused to submit any longer to the yoke of the Angeli. Many persons were proposed; and on the third day, a young man, called Nicholas Canabus, was against his will elected emperor. The emperor Alexius, hearing this, sought the marquis Boniface, to consult with him, and they agreed to admit the Latin troops into the palace, and crush the new emperor, and his partizans. This resolution being confided to Mourtzuphles, he took advantage of the occasion, and by revealing the emperor's purpose, gained over the Varangian guards.

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Sophia. Now hear the result of this most horrible treason. A.D. 1203.

CXVII. As soon as the emperor Isaac heard that his son was a captive, and that Mourzuphles was crowned, a mortal terror overcame him, which brought on a fever, and shortly put a period to his life. The emperor Mourzuphles, endeavoured two or three times to take off the son, whom he had in prison, by poison; but as it was not God's will that the poison should destroy him, he murdered him by strangulation. After he had strangled him, he caused a report to be spread, that he had died a natural death; buried him as an emperor, with funeral honours; and feigned to be afflicted at his death.[t] But murder cannot be concealed. It soon became evident both to the Greeks and Franks, that the emperor Alexius had been murdered, in the manner I have described.

Having an office about the emperor's person, in the midst of the night he ran to him, saying, that his kindred and many other persons, especially the Varangians, were about to fall upon him, on account of his friendship for the Latins. The emperor desired Mourtzuphles to advise him in that extremity; and by his counsel, fled by a private door to a secret apartment in the palace, where he was seized and cast into a dungeon. Mourtzuphles assumed the ensigns of power, and waxed stronger daily, while the feeble Canabus, sank into oblivion. But the emperor Alexius, having by the strength of his constitution, resisted two attempts to poison him, was strangled by Mourtzuphles, in the sixth month and eighth day of his reign." *Nicæt.* p. 277.

[t] "Mourtzuphles," says Nicætas, "was a crafty, yet confident man, who placed all wisdom in dissimulation." The great logothete, however, was rather an interested judge, for Mourtzuphles had dismissed him from his office, and made one Philocalius logothete in his place.

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A.D. 1203. The barons and the duke of Venice called a parliament, at which assisted all the bishops and all the clergy, and those who held the legation of the apostle. And these clerks declared to the barons and the pilgrims, "that he who had committed such a murder is lawfully incapacitated from succeeding to any heritage; that all, who had been privy to it, were alike guilty of the murder; in addition to which, that they were hereticks to the see of Rome. Wherefore," said the clergy, "the war is just and lawful; and if you have a sincere intention of conquering the land, and restoring it to the jurisdiction of the catholic church, all who die in this cause repentant of their sins, shall enjoy the full benefit of the pardons, which the apostle of Rome has granted." This discourse was very comfortable to the barons and pilgrims. The war continued very hot betwixt the Greeks and the Franks, and increased more and more; so that few days passed in which there was no rencounter, nor skirmish either by sea or land.

CXVIII. Henry the brother of count Baldwin, undertook a foray, and led with him many of the brave knights of the army, among whom were James d'Avesnes, Baldwin de Beauvoir, Eudes de Champlitte, William his brother, and their countrymen. They rode all night, and on the morrow came to a fair city called Phile,[u] and took it;

[u] Phile, a maritime city of Thrace, situated upon the shores of the Euxine.

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making great booty of rich stuffs, prisoners, and provisions, which they sent down the straight to the camp; for the city is seated near the sea. They remained two days in the city, in the midst of great abundance. A.D. 1203.

CXIX. On the third day they departed with their remaining booty, and returned towards the camp. The emperor Mourzuphles being apprized that the party had left the camp, departed from Constantinople with a great force, and placed them in ambush, in a spot, by which the pilgrims were returning. Mourzuphles permitted their squadrons to pass in succession with their booty, until the rear-guard, which was composed of count Henry and his people, came up; he then charged them at the entrance of a wood, and they, facing about, fought with undaunted valour. By God's aid, the emperor Mourzuphles was defeated; his chariot of arms[x] and his imperial standard were taken, and also a holy banner, on which was the image of our lady.[y] In this banner Mourzuphles and the

[x] At the battle of Bovines, A.D. 1214, the imperial standard of the emperor Otho, was fixed on a four-wheeled chariot, the capture of which by Philip Augustus, so affected the emperor, that he retired into solitude, and was forgotten in his lifetime. The chariot of Mourtzuphles was probably used for a similar purpose.

[y] This holy image had long been held in great veneration at Constantinople, and the emperor Basil, John and Manuel Comnenus, and many other princes, ascribed their victories to its assistance. That its sanctity was esteemed extraordinary is testified by Alberic. "In hac mirabiliter fabrefacta est majestas Domini, et Imago B. Mariæ et

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A.D. 1203. Greeks placed great confidence, and it was constantly carried with him. He lost besides, near twenty of his best knights. Thus was the emperor Mourzuphles defeated. The war however continued betwixt the two nations. And now a good part of winter was over, Candlemas being past, and Lent near at hand.

1204. CXX. Leaving the pilgrims before Constantinople, let us revert to those, who betook themselves to other ports; and to the navy of Flanders, which having wintered at Marseilles, had sailed in the summer to Syria, in such numbers, as exceeded those lying before Constantinople. It was a great misfortune that they did not join with the other pilgrims, and work the restoration of Christendom! but God, for their sins, ordered it otherwise. Some died from the unwholesomeness of the climate; others returned home, without fame, and without benefit to the country they had visited. A party of their best knights thought to go to Antioch, to Boemond, prince of Antioch and Tripoli, who was then at war with Leon, king of Armenia, and to enter his service as soldiers. But the Turks of the country, knowing their destination, laid an ambush in a place, through which they were to

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Apostolorum, cum reliquiis in eâ depositis. Ibi est dens, quem in pueritiâ mutavit Jesus; et ibi habetur de lancea, quâ in cruce fuit vulneratus, &c." He adds, "Petrus de Brachuel Sansonem Patriarchum super galeæ nascale sic percussit, quod ille cadere ad terram Iconiam dimisit; quam Petrus descendens ab equo, audacter arripuit."

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pass; and coming upon them, the Franks after a hot combat were defeated; and none of them escaped, but all were either slain or captives. A.D. 1204.

CXXI. Vilain de Nuilly, one of the best knights of Christendom, Giles de Traseguies, and many others, were among the slain. Bernard de Montmirail, Reginald de Dampierre, John de Villers, and William de Nuilly, were prisoners. Of twenty-five lances, of which the party consisted, the whole were either taken or put to the sword. It may be remarked, that none deserted the army at Venice, who did not come to evil and disgrace. Wherefore the wisdom of adhering to the narrow path.

CXXII. To return to the croisaders, who still lay before Constantinople, and were preparing their perrieres, and all the military engines which are used in the assault of cities; and were planting their mangonels upon the ships and palanders; and were raising ladders against the yards of the vessels, which were very lofty. As soon as the Greeks beheld these operations, they began to strengthen that side of the city, though it was already guarded by high towers and walls. On every tower they raised two or three platforms of wood, the better to secure it, so that no city was ever more surely fortified. These labours occupied both parties a considerable part of Lent.

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A.D. 1204. CXXIII. When all was prepared, a parliament was held for the purpose of finally deciding upon their situation. After long debate, it was agreed, that if God should grant them the capture of the city, all the booty which they might take, should be collected together, and shared equally among the pilgrims. And that when they were possessed of the city, six French and six Venetians should be chosen, who should swear upon the saints to elect for emperor whomever they should deem most capable of governing the country; that the emperor so chosen, should receive a fourth part of all that was conquered, both within and without the city, with the palaces of Bucoleon [a] and Blachernæ; that the remainder should be divided into two parts, one of which should be given to the French, the other to the Venetians. That they should then choose twelve of the most experienced of the pilgrims, and the same number of the Venetians, who should allot the fiefs and honours among their companions, and appoint what service should be paid for them to the emperor. This treaty was made and sworn to both by French and Venetians, under pain of the excommunication of any who infringed it, with liberty for those who desired, to depart at the end

[a] The palace of Bucoleon was the great palace, or rather cluster of palaces, situated upon the shore of the Propontis, and was the ancient and ordinary residence of the imperial family. In this abode was the famed edifice of porphyry, whence the imperial children derived the name of Porphyrogeniti.

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of March twelvemonth; while those who chose to remain, were to be retained in the emperor's service. A.D. 1204.

CXXIV. In the mean time, the fleet was manned and prepared and furnished with provisions for the whole army; and on the Thursday after Midlent, the pilgrims embarked, and the horses were carried on board the palanders. Each division embarked in its proper vessels, and the whole fleet was drawn up in a line, the ships being distinct from the galleys and palanders. It was a noble prospect, for the line of battle extended more than half a French league. On Friday morning the ships and galleys and other vessels approached the city, and commenced a vigorous assault. In many places the pilgrims leaped ashore, and charged up to the very walls. In others the ladders on the ships were brought so near, that those who mounted them, and the soldiers who defended the walls and towers, fought hand to hand with their lances.

CXXV. This hot assault continued in more than a hundred places until near noon, when, for their sins, the pilgrims were repulsed; and those who had advanced from the galleys and palanders were driven back to them by main force. On that day our loss was much greater than that of the Greeks, who were in consequence greatly elated. There were some of the pilgrims who

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A.D. 1204. kept themselves at a distance after the assault; and others who cast anchor so near the city, that they were within range of the perrierres and mangonels.

CXXVI. In the evening a council was held by the barons and the duke of Venice in a church, beyond the place where they had encamped. A variety of opinions was offered, for the army was much dejected on account of its defeat. Some thought it advisable to make an attempt upon that side of the city which was less strongly fortified; but the Venetians, who were most conversant with naval warfare, were of opinion, that the current would bear them so rapidly down the straight, that they should not be able to bring up their vessels. And truly there were many who in their hearts wished the winds and waves might carry away the fleet, they cared not whither, so that they might quit that country, and return to their homes. It was a natural desire, for the dangers were very great. After much debating, it was resolved, that they should employ that day, which was Saturday, and the following Sunday, in re-organizing their force; and on Monday that they should return to the assault, with the ships, on which the ladders were mounted, linked in pairs together. This expedient would bring two ships to the attack of a single tower; for it was evident that on the preceding day, when ship was opposed to tower, the force on the towers

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far exceeded the assailants in number, and the odds were in consequence too great. But as it appeared that the towers might be attacked more effectually by means of two ladders, than of one, the plan I have mentioned was projected. Thus Saturday and Sunday passed over. A.D. 1204.

CXXVII. The emperor Mourzuphles had come before the assault to encamp in a large square, where he had pitched his scarlet tents.[a] Things remained in this state until Monday morning, when the pilgrims of the ships, the gallies, and the palanders, again put on their arms, inspiring the inhabitants of the city with greater terror than before. The pilgrims on their side were astounded at beholding the walls and towers covered with soldiers, but notwithstanding began a bold and terrible assault. Each ship attacked the place before it, and the earth trembled with the shouts. The battle had continued a long time, when the Lord raised a northerly wind, which drove the ships nearer to the shore. Two ships, the Pilgrim and the Paradise, linked together, approached a tower, one on one side, the other on the other, as God and the winds directed. The ladder of the Pilgrim touched the tower, and in an instant a Venetian,[b] and a knight of France,

[a] Nicætas, p. 280, states that Mourtzuphles encamped upon a hill near the monastery "του παντεπoπτου," from whence he was enabled to see the operations of the Latins.

[b] The Venetian, according to Rhamnusius, was Petrus Albertus, a noble of Venice.

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A.D. 1204. called Andrew d' Urboise,[c] sprang upon the tower, and were followed by other warriors. The warders of the tower were discomfited, and fled.

CXXVIII. When the knights, who were on board the palanders, beheld this sight, they leaped upon the shore; and raising their ladders against the open wall, mounted them in spite of every obstacle, and possessed themselves of four towers more. The men of the ships, the galleys, and the palanders, drove on in strife who should be foremost; and forcing open three of the city gates, entered, and mounting their horses, rode to the place where the emperor Mourzuphles was encamped. Mourzuphles had arrayed his troops in the front of his camp, but at the sight of the mounted knights, they dispersed in all directions. The emperor himself fled along the streets to the castle of Bucoleon. The Greeks were every where vanquished; horses, palfreys, mules, and other booty, were secured; and of the wounded and the dead there was neither end, nor measure. Most of the Greek lords had fled towards the

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[c] Andrew d' Urboise. "Altera vero die machinis in navibus erectis, et super muros urbis applicatis, Dei annuente clementia, quidam miles, Andreas d' Ureboise nomine, de familia Nivelonis Suessionensis Episcopi, de machinis super muros exiliit; quem subsecutus est Johannes de Choisy, et multi alii super muros prœliaverunt."—*MS. Du Cange.* The emperor Baldwin writes, that the vessels, which bore the bishops of Soissons and Troyes, were the first which approached the walls. Andrew d' Urboise and John de Choisy were afterwards killed in the affair of Rusium.

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gate of Blachernæ; and it was late in the evening, when the pilgrims, fatigued with battle and slaughter, began to assemble in the great square of Constantinople. There they resolved that it were safer to encamp near the walls and the towers they had stormed; for they could not yet believe that in a brief month they had captured the city, with all the strong churches and palaces, and the multitudes which were within them. A.D. 1204.

CXXIX. So they encamped before the walls and towers, which lay contiguous to the fleet. The count of Flanders lodged in the scarlet tents, which the emperor Mourzuphles had left behind him; and his brother Henry encamped before the palace of Blachernæ. The marquis of Montferrat encamped with his men on the verge of the city. Thus on Palm Monday were the pilgrims quartered, and Constantinople taken. Louis, count of Blois, who had languished all the winter of a quartan fever, and was unable to bear arms, lay at the same time in a palander, to the great loss of the croisaders, for he was a knight of undaunted valour. On that memorable night, while the wearied host reposed, the emperor Mourzuphles took no rest; but assembling his servants, he gave out he was about to attack the Franks; instead of which he hastened along streets, as far distant as possible from the neighbourhood of the pilgrims, to the golden gate, through which he fled, and finally abandoned the city. All who had the

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A.D. 1204. ability followed him; nor were the pilgrims aware of what had taken place.

CXXX. On the same night, in the vicinity of the quarters of the marquis of Montferrat, some unknown people, fearing the Greeks might attack the fleet, set fire to the buildings, which were betwixt the Greeks and themselves.[d] The fire spread and blazed, and burned all that night and all the next day, until vespers. This was the third fire which had happened since the arrival of the Franks; and there were more houses consumed than are contained in three of the most populous cities of France. The night waned, and the day, which was Tuesday, dawned; and the whole host, knight and serjeant, being armed and assembled in their respective posts, marched from their quarters, in the anticipation of a more serious resistance than they had hitherto experienced, for they knew not of the flight of the emperor; but they found no enemy to oppose them.[e]

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[d] According to Gunther, it was a German baron. "Quod videns quidam Comes Theutonicus jussit urbem in quadam parte succendi, ut Græci, duplici laborantes incommodo, belli scilicet, atque incendii, facilius vincerentur."

[e] "The Barbarians, contrary to their expectation, found none to resist them; they met only a peaceful procession, with images and crosses, but were unmoved at the sight, nor was their blind and greedy fury appeased. They robbed not only individuals, but the temples of God himself. The sacred images were trodden under foot; the reliques of the holy martyrs were scattered; the divine elements were thrown upon the ground by these precursors of Antichrist. The holy table, rich with all kinds of jewels, the vessels and plate of inestimable value,

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CXXXI. The marquis of Montferrat, on the same morning, rode to the palace of Bucoleon, which was surrendered to him, saving the lives of those who were within. There he found the most high-born ladies in the world, who had fled for safety to the palace. Among them were the sister of the king of France,[f] and the sister of the king of Hungary, each of whom had been empress of Constantinople, with many other dames of the highest quality. Of the treasures which were in this palace, I cannot speak; for their value was inestimable. At the same time that this palace was yielded to the marquis Boniface, the palace of Blachernæ was given up to Henry, the brother of the count of Flanders, saving the lives of the inhabitants; and there a treasure so immense was found, that it rivalled that in the palace of Bucoleon. A.D. 1204.

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the pulpit, the doors and windows inlaid with gold and of matchless workmanship, were carried off, and divided among the soldiers. Beasts of burthen were brought into the sanctuary of the cathedral, and some of them, unable to stand on the bright and slippery pavement, were slain on the spot, and defiled it with their blood. A prostitute, a handmaid of hell, was placed on the throne of the patriarch, and insulted the Saviour with her songs and mockeries. Would those who had no fear of God, shew mercy to their fellow-creatures? In the gates, in the streets, in the churches, was an universal lamentation! God of heaven! what insupportable oppression! Yet it was the work of those who bore the cross of Christ upon their shoulders; who had vowed to pass in peace through Christian countries; to turn their swords only against the Infidels; and to withstand the allurements of the flesh, as became the pilgrims of God."—*Nicæt.* p. 282, et seq.

[f] Agnes, daughter of Louis VII. and sister of Philip Augustus, who had been given in marriage, A. D. 1179, to Alexius Comnenus. After the decease of Alexius, who was put to death by Andronicus, she was espoused by Andronicus, who died A. D. 1185, and remained a widow until the capture of the city, when Theodore Branas married her.

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A.D. 1204. CXXXII. Each of them garrisoned with his soldiers, the palace which had been yielded, and placed the treasures under ward. The other pilgrims, who were scattered over the city, gained incalculable plunder; for there was no estimating the quantity of silver and gold, precious vessels, jewels, rich stuffs, silks, robes of vair, gris, and ermine, and other valuables, the productions of all the climates in the world. And it is the belief of me, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, that the plunder of this city exceeded all that had been witnessed since the creation of the world.

CXXXIII. Both the French and the Venetians selected their quarters as they pleased, for each individual had only to choose his abode. And there was great joy in the host at the victory and renown, which God in his mercy had vouchsafed them, raising them from their low condition, to the very pinnacle of wealth and luxury. Palmtide and Easter were spent in joy and in thankfulness for the divine favour. And they had reason to be thankful to our Lord; for though they had in their whole army, only twenty thousand men, yet by his assistance, they had subdued more than four hundred thousand men, defended by the greatest and strongest city in the world. Proclamation was made in the camp by the marquis of Montferrat, the barons, and the duke of Venice, that all the booty should be brought in, and

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deposited together, according to the sworn agreement; and three churches were appointed to receive it, and were placed under the ward of the most loyal French and Venetians that could be found. The people then began to bring in their plunder, and cast it in one common heap together. A.D. 1204.

CXXXIV. Some gave up what they had gained with cheerfulness, but others acted deceitfully; for covetousness, the origin of every evil, would not permit them to be just. Thenceforward, the worldly-minded began privately to retain their prizes to themselves, and from that day our Lord averted his countenance from the army. Ha! God! to this period how loyally had they conducted themselves, as the Lord God had clearly manifested by prospering all their undertakings, and overthrowing all their enemies! But in this world, the good too often suffer for the sins of the wicked. The booty, so far as it was brought in, being collected, was divided according to the oath, equally between the French and the Venetians. Which being done, the French paid out of their portion to the Venetians, in discharge of their debt, fifty thousand marks of silver; and the remainder, amounting to one hundred thousand marks more, was divided among the pilgrims in the following proportions: two serjeants on foot, received as much as one horseman; and two mounted serjeants received as much as a knight. Had nothing been abstracted, had the whole spoil

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A.D. 1204. been divided according to the covenant, it would have been a work of eternal honour. Those indeed, who were detected in the embezzlement, were brought to strict justice, and many of them were hung.

CXXXV. The count of St. Paul caused a knight of his, who had concealed property, to be hung, with his shield suspended from his neck; but there were too many, both high and low, who embezzled their booty without detection. You may conceive how immense was the plunder; for exclusive of the share of the Venetians, and the property, which was abstracted, the pilgrims had more than four hundred thousand marks of silver, and ten thousand horses of various descriptions.

CXXXVI. The lords then assembled in parliament, and submitted to the commons of the army, what they deemed most expedient for the general advantage. The debates continued so long, that they took another day for the appointment of the twelve persons, who were to elect an emperor. It cannot be doubted, but that there would be many aspirants to a dignity, so eminent as that of the empire of the east; but the chief rivalry lay between the count of Flanders, and the marquis of Montferrat, and it was the opinion of all people, that one of them would certainly bear away the prize. As soon as this became notorious, the men of weight in the army, who were ad-

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herents of these two candidates, consulted together, saying, "Lords, if one of these two great men should be elected, the other will be so disgusted, that he will probably withdraw from our society with his people, and thus our conquests will be endangered; as happened heretofore at Jerusalem, after the election of Godfrey of Boulogne; for the count of St. Gilles conceived such envy at that election, that he endeavoured to entice away the barons and the pilgrims of the army. Many of them followed him, and so few remained in Palestine, that, but for the unwearied care of the Almighty, the Holy Land had been lost. It is our duty to provide against a similar disaster. Wherefore let us consider how we may give satisfaction to both; as well to the emperor, whom God shall set over us, as to the other, who may be rejected. Let the latter have all the country on the Turkish side of the straight, together with the isle of Crete, for which he shall become the liegeman of the emperor. Thus both parties shall rest satisfied." This proposition was approved of, and was readily consented to by both candidates. At length the day for holding the parliament arrived; and the twelve electors were chosen, six from one nation, and six from the other. These swore upon the saints, that they would truly and faithfully elect whomsoever they judged most proper for the station, and most capable of governing the empire. The electors afterwards assembled on the appointed day in the stately palace, where the duke

A.D. 1204.

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A.D. 1204. of Venice was lodged, which was one of the most splendid edifices in the world.

CXXXVII. It was not wonderful that a vast concourse of people should be collected, for all were anxious to know on whom the election would fall. The twelve electors being assembled, were conducted to a gorgeous chapel, which was within the precincts of the palace. There they continued in deliberation, until they were unanimous in their opinion; and empowering Nevelon, bishop of Soissons, one of the twelve, to speak in the name of all, they returned to the hall, where the barons, and the duke of Venice were in expectation of their decision. You may imagine the eagerness with which they were looked on by many, who were impatient to know the result of the election. The bishop then addressed the assembly, and said, "Lords, by the mercy of God, we have been unanimous in the choice of an emperor. You have all sworn to receive for your emperor, the person whom we should appoint, and to aid him and maintain him against all gainsayers. And now, at the very hour in which our Lord was born,[s] we declare Baldwin,

[s] This expression has sorely perplexed the commentators. The election, according to Baldwin himself, took place on Sunday, May 9th. He writes that he was elected on the Sunday, on which "Misericordias Domini" is chanted, and was crowned on the Sunday fixed for chanting "Jubilate." Doutremannus supposes that the proclaiming of the emperor might take place at midnight, "dum silentium tenerunt omnia,"

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count of Flanders and Hainault, emperor of Romania."[h] Shouts of joy followed this declaration, and the count was carried[i] to the church, the marquis of Montferrat pressing before all the others with the offering of his homage. Thus did the election light upon count Baldwin; and the day of his coronation was fixed for the third week after Easter. In the interval, every one prepared for the solemnity the richest attire, materials for which were then possessed by all in abundance. A.D. 1204.

CXXXVIII. Within the period fixed for the coronation, the marquis of Montferrat espoused the

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at which hour he chooses to believe that the birth of our Lord took place. This supposition does not solve the difficulty.

[h] Nicætas, in considering why the count of Flanders was elected in preference to the marquis of Montferrat, ascribes it to the intrigues of Dandolo, who seeing that, from his age and infirmities, his chance of being elected was hopeless, gave his influence to count Baldwin, both because he really preferred him, and because it was more desirable for the republick to have an emperor whose paternal territories were distant from Venice, than the marquis, whose estates bounded those of the republick, and who might have proved a dangerous neighbour, when strengthened by the power of Romania. The Venetian writers state, reasonably enough, that Baldwin was elected, because he was the most powerful of the princes of the army. It does not appear that the Venetians had any desire of the title of emperor; for though six of the electors were Venetians, and could therefore give the crown to whomever they would, yet Villehardouin expressly states that the contest lay between the count and the marquis. Du Cange thinks the Venetians too politic to desire a title, which might remove their government from Venice to Constantinople; and that they preferred, wisely enough, a foreigner, who would be dependent on them on account of their propinquity and their naval force.

[i] Du Cange takes this term to relate to the custom of raising the emperor, when proclaimed, upon a buckler, and shewing him to the people, who greet him with acclamations of joy.

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A.D. 1204. empress, who was the widow of the emperor Isaac, and the sister of the king of Hungary.[k] Within the same space died one of the greatest barons of the army, Eustace de Champlitte of Champagne, much deplored by his brother William, and by his other friends; and he was interred with great honour in the church of the Holy Apostles.[l]

CXXXIX. On the appointed day, the emperor Baldwin was crowned, with joy and honour, in the cathedral of St. Sophia, in the year of Jesus Christ, 1204. I describe not the festivities which ensued; but the marquis Boniface, and count Louis of Blois, rendered him homage as to their lord. After the coronation, the emperor was conducted with exceeding pomp, to the great palace of Bucoleon; and the festival being over, he began to apply himself to his affairs.

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[k] Margaret of Hungary, who, on her marriage with the marquis, quitted the Greek church, and again embraced the Romish faith.

[l] Among the churches founded by Constantine the Great, the chief was that dedicated to the twelve apostles, in which he desired to be buried. The remains of St. Luke, St. Andrew, and St. Timothy, were deposited there in the reign of Constantius, and increased the reputed holiness of the place. The church having become ruinous in the time of Justinian, was rebuilt by him with increased magnificence, and so was the chapel adjoining, where the successors of Constantine were interred. The tomb of Justinian is said to have been of gold. Certain thieves, in the days of Alexius Angelus, contrived to carry off the gold which adorned the tomb of Constantine; and Alexius himself stripped the church of much of its wealth. On the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the church was demolished by Mahomet II. and the hospital called Imaret was constructed of its ruins.

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CXL. The marquis Boniface called upon him to perform his covenant, and to assign him the isle of Crete, and the country on the Turkish side of the straight; which the emperor, conscious of the justice of the claim, very readily consented to. And when the marquis saw that the emperor had so frankly granted his request, he bethought himself of asking in exchange, the kingdom of Thessalonica;[m] because it was contiguous to the dominions of the king of Hungary, whose sister he had married. After some deliberation, the emperor granted this request also, and the marquis did homage for it, to the content of the whole army. For the marquis was one of the most valiant knights in the world, and was exceedingly beloved by his fellow soldiers, because he bestowed with a liberal hand. Thus was he settled in the country. A.D. 1204.

CXLI. The emperor Mourzuphles had only removed four days' journey from Constantinople, and had taken with him the daughter[n] and the

[m] The marquis Boniface assumed this title: "Bonifacius Marchio Montisferrati Dei gratia Regni Thessalonicensis et Crete Dominus." He bequeathed the kingdom of Thessalonica to his younger son Demetrius, who, according to the Greek writers, lost it; though the Italians affirm that he was reinstated by his elder brother, William, marquis of Montferrat.

[n] Eudocia, the daughter of the emperor Alexius Angelus, married Stephen, king of Servia, who divorced her, and sent her back to her father. While Mourtzuphles remained at Constantinople, he married her, thinking by this alliance to give himself a kind of title to the throne, and divorced his own wife for that purpose. The emperor Alexius, to

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A.D. 1204. wife of that emperor Alexius, who had fled from the city before him. This Alexius was then with his troops at a city called Messinople,[o] and was still in possession of a great part of the country in its vicinity. Many also of the most powerful among the Greeks stole away, passing in considerable numbers over the straight to Turkey, where each, according to his ability, seized upon the lands contiguous to his abode; and the same was done by numbers throughout the empire. The emperor Mourzuphles soon after captured a city, called Tzurulum,[p] which had submitted to the government of my lord the emperor Baldwin. And when he had taken it, he sacked it, and carried away whatever he could find.

CXLII. When information of this event reached the emperor Baldwin, he took counsel with the barons and the duke of Venice. Their advice was, that they should immediately march, with the whole army, to subjugate the empire, leaving in the city, which was newly conquered and peopled with Greeks, a garrison sufficient for its security. In pursuance of this resolution, the

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draw him into his power, promised to ratify the marriage, and to treat him as his son.

[o] Messinople, supposed to have been Maximianopolis, now a ruin, but once an important city of the province of Rhodope, founded by the emperor Maximian, and situated near the sea, upon the Via Egnatia.

[p] Tzurulum, an ancient city of Thrace, called also anciently Turullus, and now Tchorlu, about seventy miles from Constantinople, on the road to Adrianople.

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host was summoned, and those who were to remain in the city were appointed. They were Louis, count of Blois, who had not yet recovered from his fever, the duke of Venice, and Conon de Bethune, who lodged in the palaces of Bucoleon and Blachernæ. Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, Miles de Brabant, Manasses de l'Isle, with the other men at arms, and the rest of the people, prepared themselves to march with the emperor. A.D. 1204.

CXLIII. But before the emperor Baldwin departed from Constantinople, his brother Henry by his command, preceded him with full a hundred good lances, and rode from city to city. Wherever he came, the inhabitants swore allegiance to the emperor. At last he rode to Adrianople,[q] a most wealthy and important city, where he was favorably received, accepted the homage of the inhabitants, and quartered there until the arrival of the emperor Baldwin. As soon as Mourzuphles heard that the French were at Adrianople, he dared no longer remain, but always continuing two or three marches in advance, he at length approached Messinople, the abode of the emperor

[q] Adrianople. It is scarcely necessary to state, that this city, seated on the Hebrus, or Mariza, was rebuilt, after it had been ruined by an earthquake, by the emperor Hadrian, who gave it its present name. It was taken by Solyman I. A.D. 1362, and became the Turkish capital until the capture of Constantinople, by Mahomet II. a period of ninety-one years.

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A.D. 1204. Alexius, to whom he despatched messengers, to proffer him his assistance and allegiance. Alexius replied that he would receive him as his son, and would give him his daughter in marriage. Mourzuphles had encamped before Messinople, while Alexius was lodged within the city; and the two emperors, after a long conference, declared their interests to be united. Notwithstanding this, one continued in his camp, and the other in the city, for I know not how many days. At last Alexius invited Mourzuphles to an entertainment, and afterwards to accompany him to the bath; and this invitation Mourzuphles accepted.

CXLIV. As soon as the emperor Mourzuphles had entered the palace, the emperor Alexius sent for him into an inner chamber, where he treacherously caused him to be thrown upon the ground, and his eyes to be torn from his head.[r] Judge whether traitors like these, who were continually committing the most awful cruelties upon each

[r] This was the ordinary cure for aspirants to empire among the Greeks, to whom the more humane Turks appear to be indebted for the custom. Mutilations of all kinds were also practised in those dark times among the nations of the west. "Interdico enim nequis occidatur vel suspendatur pro aliqua culpa, sed eruantur oculi, et abscindantur testiculi, vel pedes, vel manus, ita quod truncus vivus remaneat in signum nequitiæ suæ."—*Leg. Gul. Conq.* The monk of St. Albans states that king Richard abrogated this punishment in England, so far as it respected poachers. There was this distinction however between the Greek and the Latin customs: among the Latins, mutilation was the legal penalty of certain offences; among the Greeks it was inflicted without a crime, from motives of apprehension or revenge.

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other, were worthy to govern an empire. As soon as the troops of the emperor Mourzuphles heard of this catastrophe, they dispersed and fled in all directions. Some joined the standard of the emperor Alexius, acknowledged him as their lord, and remained in his service. A.D. 1204.

CXLV. The emperor Baldwin left Constantinople with his whole army, and marched to Adrianople, where he found his brother Henry and the knights of his company. Wherever he passed, the inhabitants came, and submitted themselves to his government. The information of Alexius having torn out the eyes of Mourzuphles arriving at this period, occasioned among the French much debate; and it was the opinion of every one, that those were unfit to rule, who could so mercilessly misuse their fellow-creatures. The emperor Baldwin then resolved to march straight to Messinople, the residence of Alexius;[s] but the inhabitants of Adrianople besought him as their lord, to leave a sufficient garrison, to defend their city from Johannizza, king of Walachia and Bulgaria,[t] who had made frequent attempts

[s] "Cui (Alexio) Principes nostri in divisione Regni, quamvis homini nefario, tamen quia regii sanguinis erat, quamdam terræ portiunculam habendam concesserant."—*Gunther*. Du Cange is persuaded that the "portiuncula terræ" assigned to Alexius, was the city of Messinople, and that he was deprived of it for his cruelty to Mourtzuphles.

[t] In the reign of the emperor Isaac two Bulgarian chiefs, named Peter and Asan, revolted, expelled the Greeks from their country, and assumed the title of king. Asan died A. D. 1189. Peter survived a short time, and was succeeded by this Johannizza, Johannitius, or as

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A.D. 1204. to surprise it. The emperor left there Eustace de Salebruit, a noble and valiant knight of Flanders, with forty chosen men at arms, and a hundred mounted serjeants.

CXLVI. The emperor Baldwin then departed from Adrianople towards Messinople, where he expected to come up with the emperor Alexius. The whole of the country, through which he passed, came in, and acknowledged his authority; Whereupon the emperor Alexius abandoned Messinople, and again became a fugitive. On the appearance of the emperor Baldwin before Messinople, the inhabitants surrendered their city to his mercy; and there he chose to await the arrival of the marquis of Montferrat, who being accompanied by the empress his wife, was unable to march with equal expedition, and had not yet joined the army. He arrived however soon afterwards in the neighbourhood of Messinople, and pitched his tents near the river; and on the following morning went to visit the emperor Baldwin, and to desire his favour.

CXLVII. "Sir," said he, "I have intelligence from Salonica, that the people of the country freely offer to receive me as their Lord; and as I am

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he chose oddly to term himself καλο-ιωαννης. This ruffian separated from the Greek communion, and submitted himself and kingdom to the see of Rome; and was in consequence treated by pope Innocent with a degree of undeserved respect and forbearance.

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your liegeman, and hold the kingdom of you, I pray you to suffer me to depart at this time, and when I shall have possessed myself of my city and territories, I will supply you with provisions, and will come myself to serve you. But do not ravage my country. Rather let us march against the king of Walachia, who wrongfully retains a great portion of the empire." The emperor, however, I know not by whose advice, would advance towards Thessalonica, leaving his most pressing affairs unsettled. "Sir," again represented the marquis, "since I am able to possess myself of my territories without your assistance, I pray you not to enter therein. If you will enter them, I must conclude it is for no friendly purpose; and if you persist, know that I will neither accompany you, nor continue in your service." The emperor replied, that he would not desist from his purpose. Alas! both had evil counsellors, who sinned greatly by raising this discord between them. Had not God taken compassion on them, they had lost all their conquests, and Christendom had been in danger of ruin. Thus, through the evil offices of certain individuals, did the emperor Baldwin and the Marquis of Montferrat separate in displeasure from each other. A.D. 1204.

CXLVIII. The emperor Baldwin marched, as he had resolved, with all his force to Salonica. The marquis of Montferrat turned back, accompanied by a fair company of men at arms; among

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A.D. 1204. whom were James d'Avesnes, William de Champlitte, Hugh de Colemy, the count Bethold de Catzenelbogen, and a great number of Germans, his retainers. They arrived at Demotica,[u] a goodly, strong, and wealthy fortress; which, by the contrivance of a certain Greek, was surrendered to them. As soon as the marquis had secured and garrisoned this city, the Greeks, owing to the machinations of the empress, his wife, began to turn to him, and the whole country, within two days journey of Demotica, submitted itself to his government.

CXLIX. On the other hand the emperor Baldwin marched immediately towards Salonica, and appeared before a very strong castle, called Christopolis,[x] which was surrendered to him by the inhabitants, who took the oath of fidelity. Afterwards he came to a strong and wealthy place called Blache,[y] which also yielded, and took the like oath; and from thence he marched to Cetros,[z] one of the strongest and richest places in Christendom, and after having encamped three days before it, the inhabitants surrendered, on condition, that the same customs and privileges,

[u] Demotica, a city of Thrace, built upon a rock, surrounded by the river Hebrus, is situated about midway between Adrianople and the gulf of Enos.

[x] Christopolis, a city situated at the junction of Thrace and Mandonia, nearly opposite to the isle of Thasos.

[y] Blache. Belichea, Βελιχεα, a bishop's see, suffragan to Philippi.

[z] Cetros, a bishoprick dependent on the see of Thessalonica.

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which they had enjoyed under the Greek emperors, should continue to be preserved. A.D. 1204.

CL. Whilst the emperor Baldwin was on his way to the city of Salonica, subduing the whole kingdom to his authority, the marquis of Montferrat, with all his people, and the numerous Greeks who adhered to his party, marched and formed the siege of Adrianople. Eustace de Sambruit and the Franks, whom the emperor had left as a garrison, manned the walls and the towers, and prepared for the defence of the city. In the interim however, Eustace de Sambruit despatched two swift messengers, charging them to hasten day and night to Constantinople to count Louis and the duke of Venice, whom the emperor had left there in authority; and to say, "that Eustace de Sambruit sent them intelligence of the ill will between the emperor, and the marquis; that the marquis had seized upon Demotica, one of the strongest castles in Romania, and was then besieging Adrianople." When the count and the duke heard this message, they were greatly disturbed; for they apprehended this disagreement might occasion the loss of all they had so painfully acquired.

CLI. The duke of Venice, the count of Blois, and the other barons, who remained in Constantinople, assembled in council in the palace of Blachernæ, in exceeding irritation and displeasure

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A.D. 1204. against those, who had fanned the dispute between the emperor and the marquis. At the instigation of the duke of Venice and the count of Blois, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, who was a friend of the marquis, and was thought to have more influence over him than any other person,[a] was requested to repair to the camp at Adrianople, and endeavour, if possible, to accommodate the quarrel between them. Geoffry, in answer to their request, replied, that he would willingly undertake the mission; and taking with him Manasses de l'Isle, one of the best beloved knights in the army, departed from Constantinople, and hastened to Adrianople, while the siege was in progress. As soon as the marquis heard of their coming, he left his camp to receive them, in company with his chief counsellors, James d'Avesnes, William de Champlitte, Hugh de Colemy, and Otho de la Roche.[b] And when he met the ambassadors, he received them with much honour and respect.

CLII. Geoffry the marshal, who was on good terms with him, remonstrated strongly against the wrong of seizing upon the emperor's territories, and besieging his liegemen within the city of

[a] "One Geoffry, a man of great reputation among the Latins, who held the office which they call 'marshal,' and which the Greeks term πρωτοστρατορ."—*Nicæt.* p. 294.

[b] "Otto de Rupe, ejusdem nobilis Pontii de Rupe in Burgundia filius, quodam miraculo fit dux Athenensium et Thebanorum."—*Alberic*, A. D. 1205.

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Adrianople, without first acquainting the peers who remained at Constantinople, who might, by their influence, have repaired any injury he had suffered from the emperor. The marquis, in his exculpation, replied, "that the injustice of the emperor had compelled him to his present course." However, Geoffry the marshal, by the assistance of God, and of the barons of the marquis's party, by whom he himself was greatly beloved, laboured with such effect, that the marquis consented to refer his cause to the decision of the duke of Venice, the count of Blois, Conon de Bethune, and himself, who were thoroughly acquainted with every particular of the quarrel. A truce was immediately established betwixt the besieging army and the city, which was regarded with joy by all parties of the pilgrims, who desired nothing so much as an universal peace. But in proportion to the joy of the Franks, was the exasperation of the Greeks, who secretly were anxious for the continuance of discord and bloodshed. From the siege of Adrianople the marquis returned to Demotica, the residence of the empress his wife. A.D. 1204.

CLIII. The ambassadors, on their return to Constantinople, related the issue of their journey, which the duke of Venice, the count of Blois, and the barons, heard with great satisfaction, especially because the restoration of peace was entrusted to their decision. They despatched letters and mes-

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A.D. 1204. sengers in consequence to the emperor Baldwin, informing him that the marquis had referred his dispute to them, provided he would consent to the same reference. This they besought him to do, because it was impossible they could permit the continuance of so injurious a war; and they desired him also to pledge himself, as the marquis had done, to abide by the terms of their award. While these proceedings were in progress, the emperor had completed the subjection of Salonica, and had departed from thence, leaving it garrisoned by his liegemen, under the command of Regnier de Mons, a prudent and experienced captain. Upon his return, it was told him that the marquis had taken Demotica, and had possessed himself of the surrounding country, and was then occupied in the siege of Adrianople.

CLIV. Greatly was the emperor Baldwin exasperated when he heard this intelligence, and he hastened to raise the siege of Adrianople, and to revenge himself, to the full extent of his power, upon the marquis. Good God! what mischief might this discord have occasioned! But for God's interposition, it might have proved the ruin of the Christian army in the east. A great misfortune too at the same time befel the emperor. A fatal sickness having visited his people before Salonica, many of them were compelled to remain in the cities, through which he passed on his return, and many others were carried in litters, in the utmost misery and pain.

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CLV. Master John de Noyon,[c] a wise and learned clerk, who was chancellor of the emperor Baldwin, and had often comforted the army, by preaching the word of God, in which he was deeply versed, died, to the regret of all at Cetros. Shortly afterwards died Peter d' Amiens, a noble and wealthy man and good soldier, to the affliction of the count of St. Paul, whose kinsman he was, and of the whole army. Gerard de Machicourt, a brave knight, Giles d' Aunoy, and many other valiant men, followed them. In this expedition forty men at arms died, by whose loss the army of the emperor was seriously weakened. The emperor Baldwin continuing on his way, met the messengers, who were deputed to him by the barons at Constantinople. One of them was Begues de Fransure,[d] a wise and eloquent gentleman, who was a liegeman of the count of Blois; and he delivered the message of his lord and the other barons with great spirit in these terms: "Sir, the duke of Venice, count Louis my lord, A.D. 1204.

[c] Du Cange, whom nothing escapes, states John de Noyon to have been a Fleming, on the authority of the subscription to a title of the monastery of St. Nicholas, at Furnes. "Facta sunt hoc anno, 1202, sub his testibus, Helia Abbate de Dunis, Gerardo, Cancellario Flandriæ, Johanne de Noviono aliisque plurimis." The above-named Gerard being chancellor of Flanders, Du Cange remarks, that John de Noyon must have been chancellor of Hainault, or chancellor to Baldwin during his absence from Flanders.

[d] Begues de Fransures, a retainer of the count of Blois, lord of Fransures, a village four leagues from Amiens on the way to Paris. This gentleman was commandant of Apros, and on its capture was murdered by Johannizza, king of Bulgaria.

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A.D. 1204. and the barons who remain at Constantinople, salute you as their good lord; and they complain to God and to you of those, who, to the great injury of Christendom, have raised strife between you and the marquis of Montferrat. It is their opinion that you have not done well in listening to the suggestions of such persons. They advise you that the marquis has referred the quarrel betwixt you to them for satisfaction, and they pray you as their lord to do the like, and engage yourself to submit to their decision. At all events, they would have you to understand, that it is their determination not to suffer a longer continuance of this war.

CLVI. The emperor Baldwin replied, that when he had taken time for reflection, he would make known to them his resolution. Many of the emperor's council, who had fomented the quarrel, thought the language of the barons of Constantinople a notorious outrage; and said, "Sir, you hear their mandate, that they will not suffer you to avenge yourself on your enemies; and it appears that if you are not subservient to their arrogance, they will take arms against you." Much swelling language besides was held, but in the end, the emperor, not caring to displease the duke of Venice, count Louis, and the barons of Constantinople, gave this reply: "I will not engage to refer my quarrel to the barons, but I will return to Constantinople, without attempting

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further injury to the marquis." So the emperor returned to Constantinople, and all the barons went in procession to meet him, and received him with great honour as their lord. A.D. 1204.

CLVII. Four days afterwards the emperor was satisfied that he had been ill-advised in his dispute with the marquis. Whereupon the duke and the count said to him, "Sir, we pray you to refer yourself, as the marquis has done, to our arbitration." To which the emperor replied, "that he did so willingly." Messengers were then despatched to invite the marquis to the city, who were Gervais de Chastel, Regnier de Trit, and Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne; the duke of Venice also sent two of his people. These deputies, proceeding to Demotica, found there the marquis, the empress his wife, and numbers of brave knights; and told the marquis that they were come to seek him. Geoffry, the marshal, to whom he had given his promise, required him to repair to Constantinople to confirm the treaty of peace which the arbitrators should propose; and offered him safe conduct for himself, and for all he chose to take with him.

CLVIII. The marquis took the advice of his people, some of whom were of opinion that he should go, and others that he should not go. But at last he departed with more than two hundred knights in his train, and on his arrival at

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A.D. 1204. Constantinople was gladly received, the count of Blois, the duke of Venice, and many other great men going out to meet him, for he was in favour with the whole host. The parliament being assembled, the treaty between the emperor Baldwin and the marquis was renewed; and Salonica and its dependencies were to be restored, on condition that the city of Demotica, which had been seized by the marquis, should be placed in the custody of Geoffry the marshal of Champagne; who bound himself by oath to hold it, until he should be certified by letters patent, that the marquis was in possession of Salonica, and that then he should restore it to the emperor. Thus was peace restored, to the great satisfaction of the whole army, for this was a business pregnant with the most imminent mischief.

CLIX. The marquis, with the empress his wife, and all his followers, departed towards Salonica; and with him went the lieutenants of the emperor, who, as they repaired from castle to castle, gave them up to him, with all the seignories. At length they arrived at Salonica, which was surrendered by the garrison, the castellan Regnier de Mons being dead; he was a good knight, and his death was a misfortune to the pilgrims.

CLX. The whole kingdom then began to come in to the marquis, and acknowledge his government, with the exception of a powerful Greek

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called Leon Sgure, who had possessed himself of Corinth and Napoli,[e] two maritime cities, the strongest under the sun, and he refused obedience to the marquis. A war was the consequence, and great numbers of the Greeks adhered to his party. There was another Greek called Michael, who had followed the marquis from Constantinople, and had enjoyed his confidence; but he too stole secretly away, and going to a city called Durazzo, married the daughter of a Greek lord, who was the emperor's lieutenant there, possessed himself of the country, and began to make war upon the marquis. The whole country from Constantinople to Salonica was so quiet, and the ways were so safe, that any one who desired might travel in peace, though it was twelve days journey from city to city. Much of the year had now passed away, and it was already the end of September. And the emperor Baldwin continued at Constantinople, and the empire was peaceful and obedient. A.D. 1204.

CLXI. Two good knights, Eustace de Canteleu and Aimery de Villeroy, died about this time at Constantinople, and were greatly lamented by their friends. The barons afterwards began to make a division of the conquered land;[f] one

[e] Napoli de Romania. The antient Nauplia, in Argos.

[f] In their incomparable pride and blindness they drew lots for the provinces and cities of the empire, and even for those of distant nations. The holy city, the nations of the Nile, Lybia as far as Numidia, and the

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A.D. 1204. moiety was assigned to the Venetians, and the other to the host of the French.[f] But after every one was settled in his possession, worldly avarice, the great curse of society, would not permit them to enjoy their good fortune with moderation, but all more or less began to oppress the country. By this conduct they incurred the hatred of the Greeks, who thenceforward only sought a favorable opportunity to revolt.

CLXII. The emperor Baldwin bestowed the duchy of Nice,[h] which was one of the chief dignities in the empire of the east, upon count Louis of Blois. Nice is situated on the Turkish side of the straight of St. George, but the dependencies in Asia had not yet submitted to the

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ocean, Persia, Assyria, and the country bounded by the great rivers, came beneath the power of the die. Some boasted of the wealth of their imaginary cities, some of their rich pastures and fertile fields, while others jarred over the division of the cities, or bartered towns among each other. There was a hot contest concerning the city of Iconium."—*Nicæt.* p. 293.

[f] As the emperor had a fourth of the city and empire, and the three remaining portions were shared by the Venetians and the French, the Venetians became lords of one fourth and a half of the Greek empire, and Dandolo and his successors actually assumed this odd title: "Henricus Dandolus D. G. Venetiarum, Dalmatiæ, et Croatiæ Dux, quartæ partis et dimidiæ totius Im. Rom. Dominus."

[h] Nice, the capital of Bythynia, was founded by Antigonus, the son of Philip, who called it after his own name; but it received its name of Nice, from Nicea, wife of Lysimachus, and daughter of Antipater. It is now called Isnik, and contains about eighteen thousand inhabitants, though its antient walls are nearly eight miles in circumference. Nice is famous for two general councils; one A. D. 325, under the reign of Constantine the Great; the other, the seventh general council, was assembled A. D. 786, for the purpose of condemning the Iconoclasts.

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emperor's authority, but held his power at defiance. The duchy of Philippopolis was granted to Regnier de Trit. Count Louis despatched six score of his knights, under the direction of Payen d' Orleans, and Peter de Bracueiel, to take possession of the fief which had been given him. These departed from Constantinople on All Saints day, and having passed the straight of St. George at Abydos, marched to Piga, a seaport peopled with Latins, from whence they commenced the war against the Greeks of Asia. A.D. 1204.

CLXIII. It came to pass about this time that the emperor Mourzuphles, who had murdered his lord the emperor Alexius, whom the pilgrims had placed on the throne, and had been himself deprived of his eyes, was wandering with few attendants beyond the straight, when Thierry de Los, being apprized of it, took him and sent him prisoner to Constantinople. The emperor Baldwin was overjoyed at this occurrence, and demanded of the barons what they should do with a man who had committed such a foul treason on his lord. Now there was a marble column of great height, and goodly sculpture, standing in the midst of Constantinople; and they decreed that he should be taken thither and cast headlong from the summit,[1] in the sight of all the people; that

[1] "Mourtzuphles being arraigned for the murder of his lord and emperor, alleged in his defence, that he had put to death the betrayer of his country; whose punishment, to which the whole imperial

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A.D. 1204. such an act of signal justice might be visible to all the world. Mourzuphles was accordingly carried to the summit of the column, while the whole city crowded to behold the spectacle; and he was thence precipitated from such a height, that when he fell to the earth every bone was broken. A miraculous incident occurred: for on the column from which he was thrown, were many statues of marble, and among them that of an emperor. This statue had fallen down; hence had been predicted that an emperor of Constantinople would be thrown from the column; and thus the prophecy was accomplished.

CLXIV. Soon afterwards the marquis of Montferrat, being on his way to Salonica, took prisoner that emperor Alexius, who had thrust out the eyes of the emperor Isaac, and also the empress his wife. The purple buskins and the imperial robes he sent to his lord the emperor Baldwin, at Constantinople, who received them with great satisfaction. But the emperor Alexius he confined in Montferrat.

CLXV. On the feast of St. Martin, Henry, the brother of the emperor Baldwin, with a hundred

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family consented, was just. This language being laughed at, and whatever else he desired to add, rejected, he was condemned to a violent and novel punishment; for being taken to the lofty column, which stands tn the market of Taurus, and thrown from its summit, he came to a miserable end."—*Nicæt.* p. 299.

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and twenty knights of courage, descended the straight; and passing over to the city of Abydos, where he found abundance of corn, provisions, and all things necessary for man, he established himself in the possession of it, and from thence carried the war against the Greeks around; and the native Armenians, who were in great numbers, and held the Greeks in abhorrence, began to attach themselves to his party. A.D. 1204.

CLXVI. At the same time Regnier de Trit, attended by six score good men at arms, departed from Constantinople to Philippopolis,[k] which had been given to him by the emperor Baldwin, and hastening past Adrianople, reached that city, where the citizens with content and good will received and obeyed him as their lord. Indeed they had need of his assistance, for Johannizza, king of the Bulgarians, had cruelly oppressed them in his wars. Regnier de Trit aided them so effectually, that he recovered much of their country; even that portion which had taken part with Johannizza returned to him. And from thenceforth the war grew hot between them.

CLXVII. The emperor had sent a hundred good lances over the straight of St. George to the

[k] Philippopolis, more anciently Pulpudena, received its name from the emperor Philip, who rebuilt it. It is situated upon the Mariza, about seventy miles beyond Adrianople, and was the see of an archbishop.

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A.D. 1204. shore immediately opposite to Constantinople, under the command of Machaire de St. Menehold, assisted by Matthew de Valincourt, and Robert de Roncoi, who marched to the city of Nicomedia,[1] which is seated upon a gulph of the sea, full two days' journey from Constantinople. When the Greeks heard of their approach, they abandoned the city; and the pilgrims possessing themselves of it, garrisoned and fortified it, and from thence began to make inroads over the country in its vicinity. There was a certain Greek lord called Theodore Lascaris,[m] who had espoused a daughter of that emperor Alexius, who had torn out his brother's eyes, and had himself been driven by the Franks from Constantinople. Theodore, claiming the succession in his wife's right, made war upon the Franks beyond the straight, wherever they were established. But the emperor Baldwin still re-

[1] Nicomedia, now Ismid, a city of Bithynia, on the shore of the Propontis, was founded by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, 262 years B. C. It has been frequently visited by earthquakes; but its climate is delicious, and the richest fruits, particularly melons, which rival those of Persia, are produced in its vicinity. It now contains a population of thirty thousand souls.

[m] Theodore Lascaris had married Ann, one of the three daughters of the emperor Alexius Angelus. She had before been the wife of Isaac Comnenus, who died in captivity among the Bulgarians. Irene married firstly Andronicus Conto Stephanus, and secondly Alexius Palæologus. Eudocia had three husbands, the prince of Servia, Mourtzuphles, and Leon Sgure. The monk Alberic says of Lascaris, "Dixerat Imperatori Baldwino quidam Græcus subdolus, nomine Lascaris, quod si eum cum exercitu mitteret ultra Braohium Sancti Georgii, totam patriam illam Græcorum sibi subjiceret; qui, cum missus fuisset, Græce colloquium habuit cum Græcis, et me apud Nicænum Imperatorem constituit."

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mained at Constantinople with count Louis and a few followers; as did also the count of St. Paul, who was grievously afflicted with the gout in the knees and feet. A.D. 1204.

CLXVIII. Soon afterwards arrived from the land of Syria, a great number of those pilgrims who had deserted the army, and taken their passage from other ports. Among them were Stephen du Perche, and Reginald de Montmirail, the cousin of count of Louis, by whom they were received with great courtesy, and who was much pleased at their coming. The emperor Baldwin also gladly welcomed them, for they were rich and powerful lords, and had a great number of brave lances in their train. Hugh de Tabarie,[n] Raoul his brother, Thierry de Tenremonde,[o] with a good

[n] Pope Innocent (lib. 8. Epist. 124.) remarks, that after the conquest of Constantinople, the greater part of the pilgrims, who were in the Holy Land, hastened to the new conquest, leaving Syria almost deserted. Among others were Hugh and Raoul de Tabarie, sprung from the princes of Tabarie or Tiberias in Palestine.

"Hues ot non de Tabarie,
"O lui s'avait grant compaignie
"Des Chevaliers de Galilee,
"Car sire estoit de la contree."
Ordene de Chevalrie.

This Hugh de Tabarie is the hero of the romance above quoted, called "L'Ordene de Chevalerie de Hues de Tabarie," which describes the ceremonies used in those days in the creation of knights, and the precepts which he gave to Saladin, whose prisoner he was, when at his desire he conferred on him the order of knighthood. "I fear" says Du Cange, "the romance is fabulous, inasmuch as knighthood was not conferred on Saladin by Hugh de Tabarie, but by Humphrey de Toron."

[o] Thiery de Tenremonde, of the ancient and noble family of Tenremonde in Flanders, was the son of Walter, the second lord of Tenre-

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A.D. 1204. company of men at arms, Turcoples,[p] and serjeants, also came from Syria. And the emperor Baldwin soon afterwards gave the duchy of Philadelphia[q] to Stephen du Perche.

CLXIX. Tidings were brought by them to the emperor Baldwin respecting the countess Mary his wife, whom he had left pregnant in Flanders, and unable to accompany him, which caused him inexpressible affliction. This lady, having borne a daughter, resolved upon her recovery to follow her lord over the sea, and took her passage from Marseilles; but she had scarcely landed at Acre, when she heard that Constantinople had been taken, and that her lord was elected emperor, to the content of all Christendom. The lady was preparing to join her husband, when she was stricken with a mortal sickness, and breathed her last, to the great loss of Christendom, for she was an excellent and noble princess.[r] Those who came

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moude. He had espoused in Palestine, Agnes, dame of Adelon, by whom he left children, who succeeded to his domains.

[p] Turcoples were light horse; whence the title of "Turcoplier," commander of the light horse, one of the principal dignities in the kingdom of Cyprus, according to the assize of Jerusalem. "Turcopuli dicuntur, qui vel nutriti apud Turcas, vel de matre Christiana patri Turca procreantur." *Raymond d'Agiles.* "Turcopoli, qui ex Turco patre et Græca matre procreantur." *Albert d'Aix.* These quotations seem to designate the term "πουλος," which the modern Greeks use, in conjunction with another word, to signify child; thus "τουρκό-πουλος" the son of a Turk; "ἀρχοντό-πουλοι," the children of great lords.

[q] Philadelphia, now Allah Shehr, a city of Natolia, containing at present about eighteen thousand inhabitants.

[r] The countess Mary was the daughter of Henry, count of Cham-

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from the Holy Land brought the intelligence to the emperor, who longed to behold his wife. It was a sore grief to him, and to all the barons of the land. A.D. 1204.

CLXX. About the same period those who had passed over to the city of Piga, under the command of Peter de Bracueiel and Payen d'Orleans, fortified a castle called Palormo;[s] and having garrisoned it with their people, advanced to make further acquisitions. Theodore Lascaris, having collected all his forces, encountered them on the day of my lord St. Nicholas, which is before Christmas, near a castle called Poemaninon.[t] Our people suffered greatly in this battle, and no wonder, considering the great number of the Greeks, and that we had only seven score men at arms, exclusive of serjeants. But as our Lord gives the victory according to his grace and pleasure, the Greeks, notwithstanding their numbers, were defeated and dispersed, and suffered so severely, that within the week, much of the country was restored. Poemaninon, a strong castle; Lopadion,[u] one of the finest cities of the

pagne, and of Mary, daughter of Philip. king of France, and espoused count Baldwin at Chateau Thierry, A.D. 1186. After her confinement she embarked with John de Neelle, at Marseilles, and died in Palestine. Her corpse was carried to Constantinople, and buried in the church of St. Sophia.

[s] Palormo. Panormos, a city near the ruins of Cyzicus.

[t] Poimaninon, a place also near Cyzicus.

[u] Lopadion, now Vlubat, a town seated on the Rhyndacus, in the province of the Hellespont. Polychnæ is supposed to have been in its vicinity.

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A.D. 1204. country; and Polychna, a strong fort seated by a lake of fresh water, were given up; and in consequence of this victory, the neighbouring provinces, by God's assistance, submitted to the pilgrims.

CLXXI. By the advice of the Armenians, Henry the emperor's brother set out from Abydos, which he left sufficiently garrisoned, and marched to a city called Atramittium,[x] seated on the sea shore at the distance of two days' journey from Abydos. This city being yielded to him he established himself therein, for it was well supplied with corn and provisions, and the surrounding country, in consequence of its surrender, submitted. Whilst he was thus carrying on the war against the Greeks, Theodore Lascaris, who had been defeated at Pœmaninon, having again collected his troops, gave the charge of them to his brother Constantine, one of the bravest of the Greeks of Romania, who immediately marched towards Atramittium. Count Henry having learned from the Armenians that a great army was coming against him, prepared for the conflict, and drew up in order of battle. A considerable number of brave knights were in his company.

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[x] Adramittium, originally one of the Athenian colonies, is a maritime town of Mysia, opposite to the isle of Lesbos. It was the see of a bishop dependent upon Ephesus.

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CLXXII. Among others were Baldwin de Beauvoir, Nicholas de Mailly, Anseau de Cahieu, Thierry de Los, and Thierry de Tenremonde. And it came to pass that on the Saturday before Mid-lent, Constantine approached Atramittium; which being told to count Henry, he assembled his people and said, "he would not remain shut up in Atramittium, but would march into the open field." Constantine drawing near with a countless host of horse and foot, the pilgrims marched forth and gave battle, which proved very hot and obstinate, but by God's assistance, the Greeks were defeated and dispersed; many were slain, many were taken, many were wounded, and there was great booty. This victory was the means of bringing wealth and comfort to the French; for the people of the country in consequence returned to their party, and no longer neglected to bring in their tribute. A.D. 1204.

CLXXIII. Leaving for a while the neighbourhood of Constantinople, let us revert to the marquis Boniface of Montferrat, who was still in Thessalonica, and had marched against Leon Sgure, who withheld from him Napoli and Corinth, two of the strongest cities of Greece. The marquis besieged both cities at the same time. James d' Avesnes, with many good knights, invested Corinth, and the marquis himself besieged Napoli. It chanced that Geoffry de Ville-

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A.D. 1204. hardouin,[y] the nephew of Geoffry the marshal of Romania and Champagne, having departed from Syria, with those who had recently arrived at Constantinople, was driven by the winds and waves into the port of Modon.[z] The injury sustained by his ship, compelled him to winter in the conntry; which coming to the ears of a Greek who was a powerful lord of the country,[a] he sought him, and having treated him with much distinction, addressed him in these terms: "Fair sir, the Franks have subdued the city of Constantinople, and have made one of themselves emperor. If you are inclined to bear me company, I will observe good faith towards you, and we will possess ourselves of much of the territory in this neighbourhood." They entered by oath into this fellowship, and subdued together much of the Morea; and Geoffry de Villehardouin had no cause to complain of the good faith of the Greek. But it pleased God that the Greek fell sick and died; and his son turning against Geoffry de Villehardouin, proved a traitor to him, and seduced his castles and garrisons to declare against him. Geoffry, having heard that the marquis with a great force was besieging Napoli, in the course of six days, though with great danger, traversed the

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[y] Geoffry de Villehardouin, nephew of the marshal, and son of John de Villehardouin; the founder of the family of the princes of the Morea and Achaia.

[z] Modon, anciently Methone, a well known seaport of Messenia.

[a] "Leo Chamaretus, tyrant of Laconia."—*Nicæt.*

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country, and arrived at the camp, where he was honourably received by the marquis and his friends. And this honourable reception was his due; for he was noble and valiant, and a knight of unblemished fame. A.D. 1204.

CLXXIV. The marquis would have assigned him land and subsistence to induce him to continue in his service, but he would accept nothing; and seeking William de Champlitte, who was his intimate friend, he said, "Sir, I come from a rich country called the Morea; take as many followers as you can command, and leave the camp; and by God's grace we will go and conquer that country. And whatever portion of the spoil it shall please you to assign me, I will hold of you, and therefore become your liegeman." As William de Champlitte loved and believed Geoffry de Villehardouin, he immediately sought the marquis, and submitted the proposal to him, who permitted him to undertake the enterprize. So William de Champlitte[b] and Geoffry de Villehardouin, with about a hundred men at arms and a great number

[b] William de Champlitte, aided by Geoffry de Villehardouin, succeeded in possessing himself of the Morea and Achaia. On his death without issue, A. D. 1210, Geoffry de Villehardouin, then seneschal of Romania, succeeded to the principalities of the Morea and Achaia, to which he added Corinth and Argos, recovered from Theodore, the successor of Leon Sgure. Geoffry was repeatedly excommunicated by the archbishops of Thebes and Athens, for making free with the property of the church.

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A.D. 1204. of serjeants on horseback, left the camp, and entering the Morea, marched to the city of Modon.

CLXXV. Michael, being advised that they had entered the country with no great strength, raised a marvellous great army, and hastened after them, as if he thought they were already in his toils. When they heard of his approach, they repaired the fortifications of Modon, which had been long dismantled; and there leaving their baggage and helpless people, they marched out, and drew up their army with all the force they could number; not without danger, for they had only five hundred horsemen, while the enemy numbered five thousand. But as God governs all things, they gave battle to the Greeks, who were defeated and dispersed with great slaughter. The French gained horses, arms, and other property in abundance, with which they returned gaily and joyously to the city of Modon.

CLXXVI. They afterwards besieged a city on the sea shore called Coron;[e] which after a short resistance, was surrendered. Upon this capture, William de Champlitte bestowed the city on Geoffry de Villehardouin, who became his liegeman, and garrisoned it with his followers. They then besieged a fair and strong castle, called Chalemate, which occasioned them much trouble,

[e] Coron, a port of Messenia about fifteen miles from Modon.

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and detained them a considerable time; but in the end it was surrendered. The Greeks also, in consequence of their success, submitted in greater numbers than they had hitherto done. A.D. 1204.

CLXXVII. The marquis Boniface continued at Napoli, but was unable to effect any great progress; for it was a strong place, and the army suffered greatly. James d' Avesnes, as the marquis had commanded, carried on the siege of Corinth; but Leon Sgure, an experienced and crafty man, who was in Corinth, perceiving that James had few men, and kept but indifferent watch, made a vigorous sortie, early in the morning, and penetrating to the tents, killed many men, before they had time to take arms. Drues de St. Truyen, a good and valiant knight, to the grief of his comrades was slain; and James d' Avesnes, the commander, was sorely wounded in the leg. The men however who were in the meleè, by dint of their own valour and exertions, were saved; and though they had been upon the point of destruction, yet by the help of God, they drove the Greeks back into the city. But the Greeks still entertaining felony in their hearts, which by nature were disloyal; and seeing that the Franks were scattered over the country, each after his own concerns, thought it a favorable opportunity to betray them. So deputies were selected from the Greek cities, and despatched to Johannizza, king of Bulgaria, notwithstanding he

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A.D. 1204. had always been a bitter oppressor of their country, and was still at war with them, with offers to elect him emperor; to submit every thing to him; to murder all the French; and to swear to obey him as their lord, upon condition that he would promise them his support as his subjects. This proposition was accepted by Johannizza, and was sworn to by both parties.

CLXXVIII. About this time, Hugh, count of St. Paul, who had been long afflicted with the gout, departed this life at Constantinople, deeply lamented by his friends and vassals, and was interred with great pomp in the church of my lord St. George, of Mangana.[d] Count Hugh in his lifetime, was in possession of the castle of Demotica, a strong and important fort, where he had bestowed his knights and serjeants. The Greeks, who had bound themselves by oath to Johannizza, king of Bulgaria, to betray and murder the Franks, began their treason in this very castle; captured and slew numbers of the French, the few who

[d] Nicætas remarks that the count of St. Paul was buried in the church of St. George of Mangana, in the tomb of the empress Sclerena. This monastery of St. George, was founded by Constantine Monomachus, near the promontory where formerly stood the Acropolis, and where the Seraglio is at present. Monomachus was so enamoured of Sclerena, that she dwelt, while she lived, in the imperial palace, and shared the honours of Zoe the lawful empress. After her death, he buried her in a costly tomb in his monastery of St. George, which was afterwards appropriated to the use of the count of St. Paul. The body of the count was however ultimately deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, in the abbey of Cercamp, in Artois.

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escaped flying to the city of Adrianople, which was then in the hands of the Venetians. Soon afterwards the Greeks of Adrianople followed the example of those of Demotica: and the garrison with great difficulty, escaped and abandoned the city. Intelligence of these occurrences reached the emperor Baldwin, who with count Louis and few people, continued at Constantinople. A.D. 1204.

CLXXIX. These misfortunes much troubled and dismayed them. And the unwelcome tidings began daily to arrive from all parts, that the Greeks were every where revolting and murdering the Franks, who were in possession of the land. Those who had abandoned Adrianople, Venetians and others, retired to a city called Tzurulum, which belonged to the emperor Baldwin. There they found William de Blanuel, the emperor's lieutenant; and by his assistance, and by reason that he marched with them himself, with all the force that could be spared, they turned back to the city of Arcadiopolis,* which was twelve leagues distant, and belonged to the Venetians; and finding it void, fortified themselves therein. Three days afterwards the Greeks of the neighbourhood assembled, and commenced a furious assault upon Arcadiopolis. The Franks defended themselves

* Arcadiopolis, antiently Bergulium, now Burgaz, was rebuilt by the emperor Theodosius, who gave it the name of his son Arcadius. It is, as Villehardouin states, about twelve leagues from Tzurulum, on the road to Adrianople.

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A.D. 1204. with courage, and opening the gates, made a vigorous sortie. It pleased God that they should rout the Greeks, and after a combat in which many were slain, they pursued the fugitives a full league, putting numbers to the sword, and gaining many horses and other valuable effects. They then returned and sent an account of their victory to the emperor Baldwin, which greatly rejoiced him. Nevertheless, not daring to continue in Arcadiopolis, they abandoned it on the morrow, and returned to Tzurulum. There they remained in anxiety and doubt; for they distrusted the people within the city, as well as those without, thinking all were confederates with the king of Bulgaria, who was labouring to effect their destruction. And there were many who dared not remain, but returned to Constantinople.

CLXXX. The emperor Baldwin, seeing the universal defection of the country, consulted with the duke of Venice and count Louis of Blois. It was their opinion, that the emperor should summon his brother Henry, who was then at Atramittium, to abandon his conquests, and return to his assistance. Count Louis sent to Payen d'Orleans and Peter de Braicueil, who were at Lopadium, desiring them to abandon their acquisitions, with the exception of the port of Piga, and leaving there as small a garrison as possible, to return with all the force they could collect, to join them. The emperor also commanded Ma-

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chaire de St. Menehold, Matthew de Valincourt and Robert de Ronçoi, then with about a hundred lances at Nicomedia, to quit it, and join his standard. A.D. 1204.

CLXXXI. By command of the emperor Baldwin, Geoffry, marshal of Romania and Champagne, and Manasses de l' Isle, departed from Constantinople with such strength as they could muster, and because the whole country was falling away from them, it was very scanty, and marched to the city of Tzurulum, three days' journey distant. There they found William de Branuel and his people in great anxiety; but confidence was in a great measure restored by their arrival. Having staid there four days, the emperor despatched after them all the people he could collect, so that on the fourth day, there were fourscore men at arms at Tzurulum. Geoffry, the marshal, and Manasses de l' Isle, upon this, advanced and occupied the city of Arcadiopolis. After staying there one day, he marched to a city called Bulgaropolis,[f] which had lately been abandoned by the Greeks. On the morrow they continued their march to a strong and goodly city called Neguise, which the Greeks had also abandoned, having fled to Adrianople, about nine leagues distant, where

[f] Supposed to be a city called by Anna Comnena Bulgarophugon, a bishop's see dependent upon Adrianople. Of this city, and of the city of Neguise, nothing is known but the names.

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A.D. 1204. was the chief concourse of the insurgents. There the pilgrims resolved to await the coming of the emperor.

CLXXXII. A singular event occurred about this time: Regnier de Trit, with full six score knights, being at Philippopolis, about nine day's journey from Constantinople, was abandoned by Regnier his son, by his brother Giles, his nephew James de Boudine, and by Charles de Verdun his son in law, who in the expectation of being able themselves to reach Constantinople, took with them thirty of his knights and left him in extreme danger. But they found the country raised against them, and were defeated. The Greeks who captured them, delivered them into the hands of Johannizza, king of Bulgaria, who caused them to be beheaded; and they died without pity, because they had so basely betrayed their lord. When the other chevaliers of Regnier de Trit, men not so closely allied to him as those who had behaved so shamefully, saw what had taken place, they also, to the number of eighty, stole away by another road, while Regnier de Trit remained with a handfull of followers among the Greeks, having only twenty-five men at arms in both Philippopolis and Staminac.[g] Staminac was the strongest fort in his possession, and there he was for many months shut up.

[g] Staminac, anciently Symota.

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CLXXXIII. To return; the emperor Baldwin remained with few friends at Constantinople greatly depressed and afflicted, in expectation of the return of his brother Henry, and of the pilgrims from the Asiatick side of the straight. The first who came to him from beyond the straight were from Nicomedia: Machaire de St. Menehold, Matthew de Valincourt, and Robert de Rençoi, with about a hundred men at arms. The emperor was well pleased to see them, and seeking count Louis, of Blois and Chartres, they resolved together, that they would march forth with such power as they could assemble, and follow Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, who had preceded them. A.D. 1204.

CLXXXIV. But alas! it was much to be deplored, that they awaited not the coming of those who were still beyond the straight of St. George; for their numbers were at present too small to ensure success in their perilous expedition. Departing however from Constantinople with about seven score lances, they marched from day to day, until they came to the fort of Neguise, where Geoffry the marshal was posted. On the same night, the pilgrims held a council, and decided upon advancing in the morning to undertake the siege of Adrianople, disposing their forces with as much skill, in proportion to their numbers, as they were masters of. Day appearing, they commenced their march, and on coming before

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A.D. 1204. Adrianople, found it strongly garrisoned, and beheld the standards of Johannizza floating over the towers, and multitudes of soldiers on guard before the gates. This was on the Tuesday before Palm-tide, and they lay three days before the city in great perplexity, and in numbers wofully small.

CLXXXV. Then arrived Henry Dandolo, duke of Venice, who notwithstanding his age and infirmities, brought with him all the strength he could gather, which alone equalled that of the emperor and count Louis, and encamped before one of the gates of the city. The next day they were joined by a body of mounted serjeants, who ought to have been better men than they proved to be. There was now a great scarcity of provisions in the camp, for they could not forage in any safety, because of the Greeks, who were spread in every direction over the country. And Johannizza, king of Bulgaria, was on his way to the relief of Adrianople, with a countless host of Bulgarians and Walachians, and about fourteen thousand unbaptized Comans.[a]

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[a] Little is known of the Comans, except that, in the time of Villehardouin, they were rapacious infidels. Du Cange thinks they came originally from the defiles of Mount Caucasus. Nicephorus and Anna Comnena state their abode to have been near the mouths of the Danube. Others ascribe to them the country watered by the Tanais, the Volga, and the Borysthenes. They embraced Christianity at the instance of Louis, king of Hungary, about the year 1353.

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CLXXXVI. On Palm Sunday, Louis, the count of Blois, rode forth to gather in provisions, taking with him Stephen du Perche, Reginald de Montmirail, the brother of the count de Nevers, Gervais de Chastel, and more than half the army. They came to a castle called Peutace, well garrisoned with Greeks, and assaulted it with much spirit; but were repulsed, and compelled to return without accomplishing their object. They employed all the holy week in constructing engines, and in directing mines to sap the walls of Adrianople; and thus they spent the holy week before the city, in great necessity of people and provisions. A.D. 1205.

CLXXXVII. Then came the intelligence that Johannizza would shortly be upon them, for the purpose of relieving the city. They made their dispositions; and it was decided that Geoffry the marshal, and Manasses de l'Isle, should remain to guard the camp, while the emperor and the other pilgrims should march forth, and offer battle to Johannizza. Things remained in this state, until the Wednesday after Easter, when Johannizza encamped within five leagues of them, and pushed his Comans to their very camp. The alarm being given in the camp, the pilgrims sallied forth tumultuously, and foolishly chased the Comans a full league; for when they bethought themselves of returning, the Comans wheeled round, began to shoot their darts with much fury, and wounded

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A.D. 1205. many of the horses. So they returned to the camp; and being called to council by the emperor Baldwin, they were compelled to confess that their conduct had been inconsiderate, in pursuing such a lightly-armed foe.

CLXXXVIII. The result of the council was, that, on the approach of Johannizza, they should issue forth, and draw up the army in the front of the camp, where they should await his onset, and on no account stir from their station. And it was proclaimed through the camp, that no one should presume to contravene this order, whatever cry or alarm might be heard; it was appointed also that Geoffry the marshal, and Manasses de l'Isle, should continue on the watch before the gates of the city. Thus passed the night; and on Thursday morning they had heard mass, and eaten their morning meal, when the Comans galloped up to the very pavilions. The alarm was raised, and the pilgrims ran to arms, and marched out of the camp, every division in the utmost regularity.

CLXXXIX. Count Louis, with his division led the van, and resolutely began to chase the Comans, desiring the emperor to follow and support him. Alas! how soon they forgat their evening resolution! for they pursued the Comans sword in hand upwards of two leagues, when the Comans suddenly faced about, and began to

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raise their cries and shoot their darts.[b] Unhappily they had not knights to deal with, but people who knew little of arms, and were ready enough of themselves to take fright, and ride away from the field. Count Louis, who was foremost in the conflict, was twice dangerously wounded, and was at last thrown to the ground. John de Friaise, one of his knights, immediately leaped from his horse, and placed his lord upon the saddle; others of his people earnestly adjured him to retire, saying, "Sir, it is useless to remain, for your wounds are severe." "By God's grace," he replied, "it shall never be said that I fled from the field, and abandoned the emperor in his necessity." A.D. 1205.

CXC. The emperor, who was greatly pressed in his quarter of the field, rallied his people with all his might, calling to them that he was determined never to fly, and conjuring them not to desert him. Those who were near his person testified that belted knight never fought with greater courage than the emperor. The combat endured a considerable time; until some betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and then, since it was God's pleasure to visit us with affliction, the defeat of the pilgrims was total. The emperor and count Louis, disdaining to turn their

[b] The Comans and Bulgarians, according to Nicephorus Gregoras, affected to fly, in order to draw the Franks from their station. Alberic adds, that the Franks were ensnared by the Comans into marshy grounds.

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A.D. 1205. backs, remained upon the field; the count was among the slain, but the emperor was taken alive.[c]

CXCI. Among the slain were Peter, bishop of Bethlehem, Stephen du Perche, brother of count Geoffry, Reginald de Montmirail, the brother of the count of Nevers, Matthew de Valincourt, Robert de Rençoi, John de Friaise, Walter de Nuilly, Ferry de Hare, and his brother John, Eustace de Heumont, and his brother John, Baldwin de Neuville, and many others. Those who were able to escape the carnage, fled in haste and confusion to the camp. On their appearance, Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, who was stationed before one of the city gates, advanced with all the speed and all the people in his power, and commanded Manasses de l' Isle, who kept the other gate, that he should forthwith follow him. He rode as fast as he could, with his followers, to meet the fugitives, and rallied them around his banner; Manasses de l' Isle following without delay, joined him, and increased his numbers; and all who were flying from the field were rallied, and added to his party, So between noon and vespers the flight was somewhat checked.

[c] Baldwin, according to Nicætas, was taken alive, and carried into Mysia; from thence he was taken to Ternobum, where he was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded to the neck with chains. The same writer admits that Baldwin, though only thirty-two years old, was a man of modesty and piety, free from the license of his countrymen; one who could bear contradiction with temper, and spent his leisure time in the divine praises, or in relieving the afflicted.—*Nicæt.* p. 294. 302.

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CXCII. But many were so terror-stricken, that they dared not stay with their comrades, but fled to seek their huts and pavilions. At length the flight was stayed; the Comans and Greeks, and the Walachians, who had pursued and so galled them with their arrows, desisted from the chase; and the pilgrims continued under arms until late in the evening, when the Comans and Walachians finally retired. A.D. 1205.

CXCIII. Geoffry de Villehardouin, the marshal of Romania and Champagne, then sent to the duke of Venice in the camp, who, though old and blind, was bold, prudent, and active,[a] to desire he would join him on the spot where he was stationed. The duke came as he was desired, and as soon as the marshal beheld him, he called him apart, and said, "Sir, you see what evil hath befallen us. We have lost the emperor Baldwin and count Louis, and the greater part of our bravest knights. Let us bethink us how we may save the remnant which survives; for certainly if the Almighty does not in his mercy protect us, we are all lost men." Their first care was to go through the camp, and endeavour to raise the spirits of the people. Every one in his tent or quarters, kept himself completely armed, while

[a] Nicætas, (303.) who seems willing to believe any thing to the prejudice of Dandolo, accuses him, in bitter terms, of being the cause of the defeat. The reader will judge between the rhetorician and Villehardouin.

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A.D. 1205. Geoffry, the marshal, continued without the camp, with his soldiers drawn up in order of battle. But it was fixed that as soon as the night should fall, the whole army should decamp from before the city.

CXCIV. The duke of Venice was to lead the van, and Geoffry the marshal, and his men, were to form the rear guard. When it was night, the duke accordingly departed from the camp, and the marshal with the rear guard slowly followed. They carried with them all their people, horse, foot, wounded and others, and left not a single living soul behind, and directed their march towards a seaport called Rodosto,[e] which was three days' journey distant. The defeat of Adrianople occurred in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1205. On the night in which the remains of the army departed from Adrianople, some individuals, to their shame, deserted their brethren, and hastened to save themselves by nearer ways. Among them, were count Gras of Lombardy, a liegeman of the marquis; Hugh de Ham, lord of a castle of the same name in Vermandois; and twenty-five others, whom I forbear to name. The defeat took place on Thursday evening; and though Constantinople was five days' journey distant from the field, their flight was so rapid,

[e] Rodosto, anciently Rhædestum, a seaport of Thrace, on the Propontis, about eighty miles from Constantinople. Justinian inclosed it with walls, and fortified it, to check the incursions of the Barbarians.

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that they reached it on the following Saturday, and conveyed the intelligence to Peter the Cardinal of Capua,[f] who was legate from Innocent the apostle of Rome; to Conon de Bethune, the governor of Constantinople; to Miles de Brabant, and to the other great men. These were all sorely dismayed, fearing that the remnant of the army which had fled from the field of Adrianople, were destroyed; for no intelligence of it could be heard. A.D. 1205.

CXCV. Leaving the rulers of Constantinople in extreme terror, let us trace the steps of the duke of Venice, and of the marshal of Champagne, who on quitting Adrianople, continued their march all that night, until day-break the following morning. They reached a city called Pamphyle,[g] where by God's grace it happened that Peter de Braicuel and Payen d' Orleans were then quartered, with all the vassals of count

[f] Upon the capture of Constantinople, pope Innocent, as his predecessors before the schism had done, sent a legate, who having a prudent regard to times and circumstances, somewhat relaxed in the severity of his dogmas, and moderated with mildness the disputes which daily arose between the Greeks and Latins. "Maxime," says pope Honorius III. "propter statum Imperii debilem." Peter of Capua, however, had been sent to Venice, to accompany the crusaders, but the Venetians, fearing he might interrupt their design upon Zara, refused to receive him in capacity of legate, and he therefore departed to Palestine. When Baldwin was elected emperor, he invited cardinal Peter to Constantinople, "ut de personis et rebus ecclesiasticis auctoritate Apostolica ordinaret." Peter complied with the emperor's wish, and in return received a reprimand from the pope for quitting Syria without his license.

[g] Pamphyle, an episcopal city dependent upon the see of Heraclea.

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A.D. 1205. Louis, consisting of full a hundred knights, and seven score mounted serjeants, who had come from Asia, and were on their way to the camp at Adrianople. As soon as they saw the remains of the pilgrims appear, they ran to arms, believing them to be Greeks; but having sent out to learn the truth, they found they were the pilgrims who had escaped from the field. So they joined them, and were informed how the emperor Baldwin and their sire count Louis, of whose domains they were natives, and whose liegemen they were, were both lost. Heavier tidings were never told.

CXCVI. Many wept, and many smote their breasts in sorrow and anguish at this intelligence; but still they passed on in their arms, until they met Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, who, in great danger and difficulty, was conducting the rear-guard. For the day after their departure, Johannizza, with his whole army, arrived before Adrianople, and finding the pilgrims decamped, hastened without delay in their pursuit; and a signal mercy it was that he did not overtake them, for then had they been ruined beyond redemption. When the knights of count Louis joined the marshal, they said to him, "Sir, what would you that we should do for you? We are prepared to do any thing you may desire." He replied, "You see the state we are in; you and your horses are fresh; if you will undertake the rear-guard, I will pass onwards, and endeavour to keep

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up the spirits of the people; for they are greatly dejected, and need all the encouragement I can give them." They undertook the proffered charge with alacrity, and kept the rear-guard effectually, and in good order. Indeed none were more competent to do it, for they were experienced and noble knights. A.D. 1205.

CXCVII. Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, passed on to the van, and conducted the pilgrims to the city of Cariopolis.[h] Their horses being fatigued with travelling all the night, they entered the city about mid-day, and took up their abode within it; they gave food to their horses, and ate themselves such food as they could find, which indeed was very little, and remained there all that day until nightfall. Johannizza had pursued them with such industry, that his camp that night was only two leagues distant. On the approach of night, the pilgrims who were in the city armed themselves, and resumed their march; Geoffry the marshal, as he had done the preceding day, continued in the van; and they marched all that night and the next morning, in extreme care and weariness, when they reached the city of Rodosto, which is strong and wealthy, and entirely peopled with Greeks. The Greeks however dared not refuse them admission; so the weary pilgrims

[h] Cariopolis, also suffragan to Heraclea, is said to be one of the cities founded by Chares the Athenian.

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A.D. 1205. entered, and established themselves in the city, and for the first time felt secure. Such was the retreat from Adrianople.

CXCVIII. They assembled in council in the city of Rodosto; and having greater anxiety respecting Constantinople than for themselves, they despatched by sea confidential messengers, who were instructed to hasten without rest for the purpose of cheering the people of that city with intelligence of their safety, and to inform them that they would join them as speedily as possible. When the messengers arrived at Constantinople, they found five large and fair ships of Venice laden with pilgrims, knights and serjeants, who were about to quit Romania, on their return to their native country. In the five ships were upwards of seven thousand soldiers; among whom were William, advocate of Bethune, Baldwin d'Aubigny, John de Virsin, a liegeman of the count Louis of Blois, born on his domains, and more than a hundred other knights, whose names I would fain spare.

CXCIX. Master Peter of Capua, the legate of the apostle, Conon de Bethune, the governor of the city, Miles de Brabant, and most of the other barons, went to those who were aboard these ships, and with tears besought them for God's love, to remain in mercy and compassion to Christendom, and to their lords who had fallen

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in the battle.[1] They refused to listen to their entreaties, but departed from the port. They spread their sails, with the intention of quitting Romania; but it pleased God, that on the morning after the arrival of the pilgrims, the winds drove their ships into the port of Rodosto. The same prayers which had been rejected at Constantinople, were again urged with tears and lamentations by Geoffry, the marshal, and his companions, who implored them to have pity on the land, and to remain there but for a season; for no where in the world could their assistance be more needful. They replied that they would weigh their request, and answer them in the morning. A.D. 1205.

CC. But it happened in the night time, that a knight of the territory of count Louis, called Peter de Freville, who had been esteemed a man of note and courage, stole away, leaving his harness behind, and went on board the ship of John de Virsin, who was also a native of the country of count Louis of Blois and Chartres, and one of the five who were pledged to return an answer to Geoffry, the marshal, and the duke of Venice, in the morning. But as soon as that morning

[1] The French of Constantinople, on hearing of the defeat of Adrianople, at first thought of abandoning the city; but cardinal Peter, by his prayers and preaching, and by publishing pardons and indulgences for all who remained there one complete year, prevailed on them to stay and endeavour to retain their conquests.

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A.D. 1205. appeared, the five ships spread their sails, and departed in silence; a dishonour to the country they were seeking, and to that which they had abandoned! Peter de Freville, was the basest of them all. This man, from the fear of death, brought shame upon himself, which remained with him all his days.

CCI. In the mean time Henry, the emperor's brother, had abandoned Atramittium, and was proceeding towards Adrianople to the assistance of the pilgrims. He had with him the Armenians,[k] who had united with him against the Greeks, to the number of twenty thousand, with all their wives and children, who dared not remain behind. First he was told by the Greeks who had escaped the defeat, that the emperor Baldwin, count Louis, and all the other barons were destroyed. Afterwards came messengers from the fugitives at Rodosto, imploring him to hasten with his utmost speed to their assistance. As the Armenians were foot soldiers, and were encumbered with their waggons and families, and as he knew they would certainly follow him, he left them behind for the sake of greater expedition, and advanced to a town called Cartopolis. On the same day he was joined by Anseau de Courcelles, the nephew of Geoffry the marshal, who had been sent to the territories

[k] "Or avoit amenè Henri d'Angiau bien trente mil mansions (des Hermins) pour demeurer en Constantinople."—*Chronique de Flandres.*

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of Macre,[l] Trajanopolis,[m] and the abbey of Vera,[n] lordships which had been assigned him; and also by the men from Regnier de Trit, at Philippopolis. The party consisted of full a hundred good lances, and five hundred mounted serjeants, who were all on their way to Adrianople to the assistance of the emperor Baldwin. A.D. 1205.

CCII. But they had heard like the others, of the defeat of the emperor; and turning towards Rodosto, arrived at Cartopolis, where they met Henry, the emperor's brother. At first both parties thinking each other Greeks, took to their weapons, but on a nearer approach recognized each other with great satisfaction, and felt themselves in greater security during their night's quarters in the town. On the next day they continued their march to Rodosto, which they reached in the evening; and found there the duke of Venice, Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, and the others who had escaped the battle, by whom they were gladly welcomed; and they wept over their friends together. God! what a grief it was, that all these warriors had not been

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[l] Macre, once Serrheum, now Maicri, a city of Thrace, not far from the mouth of the Hebrus.

[m] Trajanopolis, the metropolitan city of the province of Rhodope, was restored by the emperor Trajan. Its more ancient name was "Zernis,"

[n] Vera, an abbey or castle founded by Isaac Comnenus, the father of the emperor Andronicus, was situated at the mouth of the Hebrus, not far from the city of Enos.

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A.D. 1205. at Adrianople with the emperor; then the battle had not been lost; but such was not the will of God. They remained at Rodosto on the morrow and the following day, and Henry, the brother of the emperor, was elected regent of the empire.[o] In the mean time ruin overtook the Armenians, who were following count Henry; for the Greeks of the country assembled and fell upon them, and the whole party was dispersed, or destroyed.

CCIII. Johannizza, king of the Bulgarians, at the head of his army, made himself master of the whole country; and cities and castles were every where declaring in his favour. The Comans had pushed on even to the gates of Constantinople; and Henry, the regent of the empire, the duke of Venice, and Geoffry, the marshal of Champagne, still continued at Rodosto, which was at a considerable distance from Constantinople. After long deliberation the duke of Venice garrisoned Rodosto, which belonged to him, with Venetians, and the next day the pilgrims arrayed their battles, and returned towards Constantinople. On reaching Selymbria,[p] a seaport two days' journey distant, which was a fief of the emperor Baldwin, the regent Henry garrisoned it with his soldiers,

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[o] Baus. Bail. Regent. Henry announced his election to the regency to pope Innocent in these terms: "Postmodum Principes et Barones et Milites exercitus me Imperii Bailluium elegerunt."

[p] Selymbria, a city of Thrace, on the Propontis, about seventeen leagues to the west of Constantinople.

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and proceeded with the pilgrims to Constantinople, where he was gladly received; for the people were in the utmost agitation and dismay. Nor was their terror without reason; for the whole empire was so entirely lost, that beyond the walls of Constantinople, nothing remained under the government of the Franks, but the cities of Rodosto and Selymbria. All Romania owned the authority of Johannizza; and beyond the straight of St. George, all Asia, except the castle of Piga, had submitted to Theodore Lascaris. A.D. 1205.

CCIV. In this emergency the barons resolved to apply for assistance to Innocent, the apostle of Rome, to France, to Flanders, and to all the nations of the west. Nevelon, bishop of Soissons, Nicholas de Mailly, and John de Bliant, were deputed upon this mission, while the other barons remained at Constantinople, in daily dread of losing the remains of the empire. Affairs continued in this state until Pentecost, but within that space a new misfortune had visited the pilgrims in the sickness and death of Henry Dandolo,[q] who was interred, with the honours he merited in the cathedral of St. Sophia. When

[q] "Diem circitur Calend. Junii obiit Christianæ Salutis, anno 1205, et ad Sophiæ elatus magnifico funere in fani atrio, loculo e marmore sublime ad parietem facto, conditur. Id Sepulchrum ad usque patruum memoriam, marmoreis Divi Marci insignibus, et Ducaria etiam infula exornatum, Mahomete secundo Turcarum Imperatore, qui Constantinopolim cepit, atque in Turcarum potestate redegit, fanum D. Sophiæ

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A.D. 1205. Pentecost arrived, Johannizza, who had exercised absolute authority throughout the country, could no longer persuade his Comans to remain with him, because they were unable to endure the heats of a more southern summer. They returned therefore into their own country, but he with his Bulgarians and Greeks resolved to fall upon Salonica. The marquis on hearing of the defeat of the emperor, had raised the siege of Napoli, and marched with all his power to garrison Salonica.

CCV. Henry, the brother of the emperor Baldwin, with such strength as he could gather, marched against the Greeks of Tzurulum, three days' journey from Constantinople. The place being surrendered, the Greek inhabitants took an oath of fealty: an oath which in those days was ill observed. Advancing from thence to Arcadiopolis, he found the city void, for the Greeks were afraid to await his coming. From thence he proceeded to the strong city of Bizye,[r] which was also inhabited by Greeks, and was surrrendered. From Bizye he marched to the city of

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in Mahometanæ superstitionis usum reficiente, demolitum fuit. Thorace, galea, calcaribus, atque ipso demum ab inveterato multorum annorum situ longe conspicuo Danduli ense erutis, et ab Gentile Belixio Johannis fratre, eximio ejus seculi pictore, qui apud Mahometem aliquot annis fuerat, in patriam revertente, ad Dandulos Divæ Lucæ Henrici Gentiles, Venetias postmodum delatis."—*Rhamnusius.*

[r] Visoi. Bizue, or Bizoe, according to the Byzantine historians. As it stood between Arcadiopolis and Apros, it was perhaps the ancient Bedizus.

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Apros,[s] which was also garrisoned by Greeks, who, on seeing that preparations were making to assault them, desired to capitulate. While the terms of capitulation were adjusting at one gate, part of the army forced the city at the other, to the great regret of the regent Henry, and those who were arranging the terms, and knew not what had occurred, until it was too late to prevent it. The French immediately began to slay the Greeks, sack their city, and take away every thing they could find. Many lives were lost, and many prisoners were taken. In this manner was Apros captured, and the army remained there three days. The Greeks were so terrified at this massacre, that they fled from all the cities and castles throughout the country, to shelter themselves in Adrianople and Demotica, which were cities of great extent, and were securely fortified. A.D. 1205.

CCVI. In the mean time Johannizza with his host marched against the marquis, and sat down before a city called Seres,[t] which the marquis had strongly garrisoned with his followers, among whom were Hugh de Colemi,[u] a good knight

[s] Naples, according to the text; but from its locality the city of Apros is clearly intended. Du Cange happily conjectures that the author wrote originally "Napres, or Apres."

[t] Seres, anciently Sarrhæ, or Siræ; a city of the province of Rhodope. Nicætas describes the capture of Sarrhæ in nearly similar terms.

[u] Du Cange, supposing this lord to be Hugh de Coleini, informs us that he had married the widow of Taillifer, count of St. Giles, and of Hugh, duke of Burgundy; and before his departure to Palestine gave

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A.D. 1205. and powerful baron, and William d' Arles, who was his marshal. Johannizza had scarcely commenced the siege, when the town was taken by assault; and Hugh de Colemi, the bravest of the French, was slain by a wound in the eye. The remaining Franks were so discouraged by his death, that they retired into the citadel, where Johannizza besieged them, and planted his perrieres against it. The siege had not continued long, when the French, to their great reproach, proposed to capitulate. They offered to surrender the castle, and Johannizza on his part caused twenty-five of his greatest chiefs to swear on his behalf, that they should be safely conducted, with all their arms and horses, either to Salonica, to Constantinople, or to Hungary, according to their choice. On the surrender of Seres, Johannizza lodged the French in his camp, treating them kindly, and sending them many presents. But

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largely to the church. The following extracts are fair examples of such grants. The first is to the Chartreuse de Seligna: "Notum sit omnibus quod Hugo Coloniaci Hierosolymam tendens quiquid juris habeo apud Siliniacum pro salute anmiæ meæ et animarum antecessorum meorum, integre et absque retractatione dono et confirmo domui Sellionis, ad construendam ibi domum Carthusiensis ordinis, ita tamen si juxta considerationem, vel assensum ordinis esse potuerit. Testes sunt Beatrix Ducissa mea et plures alii." The next to the Chartreuse of Montmerle expressly exempts it from feudal services. "Notum est omnibus quod Dominus Hugo de Coloniaco proficiscens Hierosolymam dedit Deo et Sanctæ Mariæ de Montmerle pro salute animæ suæ et antecessorum suorum, terras, prata, nemora, et pascua ad grangiam ædificandam, Promisit autem hanc grangiam fore liberam ab omni consuetudine et exemptione sui et suorum in perpetuum. Fecit autem hoc donum apud Ambroniacum anno Verbi Incarnati 1202. Feria 4, Luna 3."

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this kindness endured only three days; for then treacherously violating his oath, he seized them, stripped them of their property, and sent them naked and barefooted to Bulgaria. The poor common soldiers he sold from thence for slaves into Hungary, but all the people of rank he beheaded. After this mortal treason, which was one of the greatest blows the pilgrims had yet received, Johannizza razed the city and the citadel of Seres, and marched against the marquis of Montferrat. A. D. 1205.

CCVII. The regent Henry advanced to Adrianople, and laid siege to it, not without considerable danger; for there were multitudes of enterprizing soldiers, both within and without the city, who almost confined the pilgrims to their camp, and prevented any supply of provisions. The pilgrims entrenched themselves behind palisades and barriers, over which a portion of the army was appointed to keep guard, while others were carrying on the assault. They constructed ladders, and engines of all kinds, and used their utmost efforts to reduce the city, but in vain; for it was too well manned and fortified, and many of the assailants were wounded in the attempt. Among others, the good knight Peter de Braicuel[v] was struck on the forehead by a stone from a

[v] Nicætas uniformly speaks with admiration of this great man, whom he terms "πετρος ο εκ πλαντζης," and relates his misfortune before Adrianople.

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A.D. 1205. mangonel, and there was reason to believe the wound was mortal; but by God's favour he recovered, and was afterwards removed in a litter. When the regent saw that he was unable to capture the city, he retired with his army; and though much galled by the Greeks, and the people of the country, safely reached the city of Pamphyle. There he continued two months, making forays on the side of Demotica. The army remained in that part of the country until the beginning of Lent, drawing its supplies by sea through Rodosto.

CCVIII. In the interval, Johannizza after he had taken Seres, as you have heard, and murdered those who had surrendered, had marched towards Salonica, where he encamped, and ruined a great portion of the country. The marquis Boniface remained within the city of Salonica, much vexed and afflicted at the fate of his lord the emperor Baldwin, and his barons, and at the fall of his castle of Seres, and the murder of his people. When Johannizza saw that nothing further was to be won, he turned back with all his people into Bulgaria. The citizens of Philippopolis, which by the grant of the emperor Baldwin belonged to Regnier de Trit, had heard of the ruin of the emperor Baldwin and his barons, and of the loss of Seres; and believing, since even the son and kinsmen of Regnier de Trit had abandoned him, that the condition of the French was hope-

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less, a party of them, who were Paulicians, betook themselves to Johannizza, and said, "Sir, march yourself, or send your army to Philippopolis, and we will take care it shall be surrendered into your hands." A.D. 1205.

CCIX. When Regnier de Trit, who was in the city, received intimation of this transaction, he was sorely afraid they would deliver him up to Johannizza. So departing with the few people he had with him, he came round on a certain day, upon the suburbs of the city, where the Manichæans, who had been tampering with Johannizza, were residing, and having fired them and consumed a great portion of them, departed to the castle of Stanimac, which was three leagues distant. There he was shut up for thirteen months in the utmost want and distress. They ate their horses through hunger; and as the distance between them and Constantinople was nine days' journey, no intelligence could pass between them. Johannizza despatched his army to Philippopolis, which, on the assurance of good treatment, was instantly surrendered. But in spite of this assurance, he murdered first the archbishop of the city,* then burnt alive, or beheaded all the chief citizens, dragged the remainder in chains, razed the city to

* As the Greeks at that period did not admit the title of archbishop, this unfortunate man was probably a Frank. Under the Greeks the Bishop of Philippopolis was styled "Metropolitan and Exarch of all Thrace."—*Du Cange.*

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A.D. 1205. the ground, consuming to ashes its towers and walls, its stately palaces and splendid habitations. Such was the fate of Philippopolis, one of the three great cities of the empire of the east.

CCX. Regnier de Trit being thus locked up in Stanimac, return we to the regent Henry, who had remained at Pamphyle until the beginning of winter. By the advice of his barons he fortified the city of Rusium,[x] which was situated in the most fertile part of the country. Thierry de Los, the seneschal, and Thierry de Tenremonde, the constable,[y] were commanders of the garrison, which consisted of seven score knights, and a great number of mounted serjeants; and they had the charge of carrying on the war against the neighbouring Greeks. With the remainder of his force Henry marched to the city of Bizye, and left there Anseau de Cahieu, with six score knights and many serjeants, for its safety. The Venetians garrisoned the city of Arcadiopolis; and the regent granted the city of Apros to Branas,[z] who had

[x] Of Rusium I find no account, ancient or modern, except in the Chroniclers of the Crusades, who agree with Villehardouin in placing it near Rodosto. They write it "Reusa, Rusa, or Rossa." Nicætas terms it Ρουσιον. It was probably never rebuilt after its destruction by Johannizza.

[y] The emperor Baldwin on his election created Thierry de Tenremonde, constable; Thierry de Los, Seneschal; Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal; also Conon de Bethune, master of the wardrobe; Manasses de l'Isle, cook; Machaire de St. Menehold, cupbearer; and Miles de Brabant, butler.

[z] Theodore Branas was descended from a very noble Greek family, which originally sprang from Adrianople. His father Alexius having

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espoused the sister of the king of France, and was the only Greek who continued faithful to the Latins; none but he observed his oath of fidelity. The men of these cities kept up the war and made attacks upon the Greeks, and the Greeks made attacks upon them. Henry himself retired to Constantinople; but Johannizza on his part, after he had become so great and powerful, did not sleep; but raising a great army of Comans and Walachians, he despatched them three weeks after Christmas into Romania, to assist the citizens of Adrianople and Demotica; who, on seeing themselves thus reinforced, rode over the whole country without fear. A.D. 1205.

CCXI. On the fourth day before the feast of St. Mary Candlemas, Thierry de Tenremonde, who was commandant in Rusium and constable of Romania, undertook a foray. He rode all night with six score lances, leaving only a small garrison in Rusium. At day break they came A.D. 1206.

revolted against the emperor Isaac, was slain by Conrad of Montferrat, then in the service of the emperor. Theodore was, notwithstanding, employed by the emperor Isaac on many occasions, and was one of those, who with George Palæologus and others conspired against him, and proclaimed his brother Alexius emperor. On the capture of the city, though Theodore Lascaris, Michael Comnenus, and many other great men also declared in favour of the French, Branas was the only one of them who kept his word, being probably preserved in his allegiance by the influence of Agnes of France, his wife. "Le Vernas autem Princeps ad hoc inductus est, ut sororem Regis Francorum, quam hoc usque tenuerat, absque legalibus nuptiis, legitimo sibi conjungeret matrimonio. Et filiam ejus dederunt viro nobili Nargaldo de Toceio, Guidonis de Dampetru consobrino."—*Alberic.*

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A.D. 1206. upon a town where Comans and Walachians were quartered, and surprizing them, slew many, and possessed themselves of eleven of their horses, without any interruption from the people of the village. Having accomplished their object, they returned back towards Rusium; but on the same night it happened that the Comans and Walachians, who to the number of seven thousand men had been harrying the country, had appeared in the morning before Rusium, and remained there a considerable time. The city being ill garrisoned, the French shut the gates, and displayed such force as they could upon the walls, when the Comans at length retired. But they had scarcely ridden a league and a half, when they fell in with the party of French, under the command of Thierry de Tenremonde.

CCXII. As soon as the French perceived the Comans, they drew up in four divisions, with the intention of getting into Rusium; where, had it pleased God to favour their design, they might have remained in safety. But the Comans, the Walachians, and the Greeks of the country, in great numbers rode towards them, and coming upon their rear, began to press them very rudely. The rear-guard was composed of the men of Thierry de Los, the seneschal, who was himself at Constantinople, and was under the command of Vilain his brother. The Greeks and Comans pressed on, and wounded many of their horses,

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and with their customary cries and clamour, drove them by force upon the division of Andrew d' Urboise, and John de Choisy, who for some time supported them. But upon the reinforcement of the Comans, they were all driven upon the division of Thierry de Tenremonde, the constable, and afterwards upon that of Charles de Fresné. At this time they had arrived within half a league of Rusium, when they were pressed more fiercely than ever. The confusion became great; numbers of men and horses were wounded; and at last, since the Almighty permits such chastenings, the French, oppressed with the weight of their armour,[a] sank under the attack, and were entirely routed, and the light-armed Comans began to kill. A.D. 1206.

CCXIII. This was a day of sorrow for Christendom! of the six score knights only ten escaped; all the others were either taken or slain. The few fugitives who escaped hastened to Rusium, where, by the assistance of the people who were within, they rallied. Among the slain were Thierry de Tenremonde, Oris de l' Isle, an ap-

[a] As the Latins, man and horse, were cased completely in iron, their first shock was frequently irresistible; but when the battle was prolonged, ardour gave place to fatigue, and the weight of their armour often caused their destruction, as they could then neither fight nor fly. The emperor Nicephorus Phocas, addressing the ambassador Luitprandus, said, "Domini tui milites equitandi ignari, pedestris pugnæ inscii; scutorum magnitudo, loricarum gravitudo, ensium longitudo, galearumque pondus, neutra parte eos pugnare sinit."

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A.D. 1206. proved and valiant knight, John de Sompone, Andrew d'Urboise, John de Choisy, Guy de Conflans, Charles de Fresne, Vilain, brother of Thierry de Los, the seneschal, and many others, whose names I pass over. It was a day of greater loss and shame than had yet befallen the Christian name in the empire of Romania.

CCXIV. The Comans, the Greeks, and the Walachians, having wreaked their vengeance upon the country, retired with a spoil of noble horses and rich harness. The defeat happened the day before the eve of our lady St. Mary Candlemas; and when darkness was come, those who had escaped, and those who had remained in the city, abandoned Rusium, marching all the night, and in the morning reached Rodosto. The heavy intelligence reached the regent Henry, as he was walking in procession to our lady of Blachernæ, on the feast of the purification of our lady St. Mary. The dismay at Constantinople was excessive; all believed that the empire had passed away from the Latins.

CCXV. The regent Henry having resolved to fortify Selymbria, which was within two days' journey of Constantinople, sent thither Machaire de St. Menehold, with fifty men at arms, for a garrison. When Johannizza, king of Walachia, heard of the achievement of his people, he was exceedingly elated, inasmuch as the party which

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had been cut off, was one of the most considerable among the French, both for worth and numbers. He levied throughout his territories a vast army of Comans, Greeks, and Walachians, and re-entered Romania, where most of the cities and castles submitted to him. The Venetians, upon hearing of his approach, abandoned Arcadiopolis; but Johannizza marched forward to the city of Apros, which was garrisoned by Greeks and Latins, and belonged to Branas, whose wife had been empress, and was sister to the king of France. The Latin captain was Begues de Fransure, a knight of the country of Beauvoisis. A.D. 1206.

CCXVI. Johannizza having assaulted the city, such numbers were slain in its defence, that its capture was inevitable. Begues de Fransure, being carried before him, was murdered on the spot; and all the people of inferior rank, Greeks and Latins, with their wives and children, were carried as slaves into Walachia. Though the city was strong, wealthy, and situated in a fertile country, he afterwards levelled it with the ground. Twelve leagues from Apros upon the sea shore was Rodosto, a large, rich, and important city, well garrisoned by Venetians; and in addition to the garrison, it then contained a body of mounted serjeants to the number of two thousand men.

CCXVII. But as soon as they heard that Apros had been stormed, and that its defenders

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A.D. 1206. had been put to the sword, an unaccountable panick overcame them, and their self-confidence was destroyed. Thus it is that God permits mankind to create their own misfortunes. The Venetians threw themselves by crowds into their vessels, and the serjeants, who were both French and Flemings, made their escape by land. This was an unnecessary evil; for the city was so strong, and so well enclosed by solid walls and towers, that it might be called impregnable; nor was it probable that Johannizza would have made any attempt upon it. He however hearing that the city was abandoned, immediately marched to it, though he was then twelve days' journey distant.

CCXVIII. The Greeks who remained, having given up the city, he seized them, great and small, sent them, saving the few who had escaped, into Walachia, and razed the city to the ground. It was an irreparable loss, for it was one of the finest and best situated cities of Romania. From thence he marched to Panium, which was yielded and destroyed like Rodosto, and the inhabitants transported into Walachia. Afterwards he went to the city of Heraclea,[b] a seaport belonging to the Venetians, who had feebly garrisoned it; took

[b] Heraclea, called Perinthus by Ptolemy, is a port of Thrace on the Propontis. It was a metropolitan city, between Selymbria and Rodosto, about fifty miles from Constantinople. Daonium was a bishoprick subject to it.

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it by assault, after a great slaughter, sent the survivors to Walachia, and levelled the city with the ground. Next he marched to the goodly city of Daonium, which the people not daring to defend, was surrendered and destroyed like the others. A.D. 1206.

CCXIX. Proceeding from thence to Tzurulum he utterly destroyed it. No oath, no treaty could bind him. The Comans rode to the very gates of Constantinople, where the regent Henry remained in grief and anger, because his people were too feeble to defend the empire. The Comans carried off spoil from all parts of the country, both men, women, and children; destroyed cities and castles, and committed such horrible cruelties, as exceeded the imagination of mankind.

CCXX. Johannizza next came to a city called Athyra,[c] twelve leagues from Constantinople, which the regent Henry had granted to Payen d'Orleans. It contained a vast multitude of people, who had flocked thither from the open country for shelter. This city was taken by storm, and a massacre ensued, which surpassed all that had taken place before. All the castles and cities, which were given up to Johannizza on

[c] Athyra, a bishoprick immediately subject to the patriarch of Constantinople.

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A. D. 1206. his promise of protection, were reduced to ashes, and the inhabitants were dragged into captivity; so that within the distance of five days' journey from Constantinople, there remained no place unsacked, except the cities of Bizye and Selymbria,[d] which were garrisoned by the French. In Bizye was Anseau de Cahieu with full six score men at arms; and in Selymbria was Machaire de St. Menehold with fifty. The regent Henry had withdrawn the remaining pilgrims within the walls of Constantinople, beyond which these two cities constituted their sole possessions.

CCXXI. When those Greeks of the army of Johannizza, who had first called him to their assistance, and for his sake had betrayed the French, saw that he destroyed their cities and their castles, and that no compact was observed by him, they judged they were themselves betrayed and ruined. And consulting privately together, they agreed that it was unlikely that he would spare either Adrianople or Demotica, if they were once in his power; and that the destruction of those two cities would complete the ruin of Romania. They secretly sent messengers therefore to Branas, at Constantinople, imploring him to intercede for them, and make their peace with the regent Henry and the Venetians; and that on their part they would restore Adrianople and

[d] Nicætas confirms the statement of Villehardouin, that Bizye and Selymbria were the only cities which escaped the ferocity of Johannizza.

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Demotica, and bring back the Greeks to their allegiance to him; and that thenceforth the Greeks and the French should become one people. After many consultations, it was decided that Adrianople and Demotica, with their appendages, should be granted to Branas, and to the empress his wife, for which they should perform homage to the emperor and the empire. This treaty was ratified, and peace between the Greeks and the French was restored. A.D. 1206.

CCXXII. After a long stay in Romania, from the beginning of Lent until long after Easter, during which he had ravaged and depopulated the whole country, Johannizza retired towards Adrianople and Demotica, with the intention of subjecting them to the treatment he had inflicted on other cities. When the Greeks who were with him saw that he was turning towards Adrianople, they began, night and day, to fall away from him, to the number of twenty, thirty, forty, or a hundred at a time. On his arrival, he required to be admitted within the city, as he had been in the others; but the Greeks refused him, saying, "Sir, when we arose against the French, and submitted ourselves to you, you swore to protect us and preserve us with good faith. This vow you have not observed; but on the contrary, you have ruined Romania; and we know that it is your intention to treat us in the same way you have treated others." Johannizza, on hearing

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A.D. 1206. these words, laid siege to Demotica, planted sixteen large perrieres around it, began to construct all kinds of engines for the siege, and to devastate the surrounding country.

CCXXIII. The citizens of Adrianople and Demotica, immediately despatched messengers to the regent Henry and to Branas at Constantinople, to conjure them in the name of God, to succour Demotica, which was besieged. When the lords in Constantinople heard this intelligence, they determined on the relief of Demotica, though there were many who had not sufficient courage to approve of their resolution, or the putting in jeopardy the remnant of the christian army. Notwithstanding their objections, it was resolved to take the field and to march to Selymbria; and the cardinal, who was legate from the apostle of Rome, preached to the army, and granted pardons to all who marched, and died on the field of battle. Henry then departed from Constantinople with all the strength he could collect, and advancing to Selymbria, remained eight days before the city. Messengers were continually coming from Adrianople, imploring him to have pity upon them and succour them; for that without his help, their situation was desperate indeed.

CCXXIV. Henry having consulted his barons, it was decided that they should march to Bizye, a large and strong city. They came before Bizye,

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on the feast of my lord St. John the Baptist, in June, and on the day of their coming, messengers from Adrianople arrived, and said to the regent Henry, "Sir, unless you succour the city of Demotica, it cannot hold out above eight days longer; for the perrieres of Johannizza have beaten down the wall in four places, and his soldiers have twice attempted an assault. A.D. 1206.

CCXXV. Upon this the regent Henry assembled his council, and after many debates thus addressed them: "My lords, we have already advanced so far, that we shall incur great shame, if we attempt not the relief of Demotica. Let every man confess his sins, and receive the sacrament, and then we will prepare for battle." It was calculated that there were present about four hundred knights; and sending for the Greek messengers, the council inquired of them the state and numbers of Johannizza's army. They replied, that there were at least forty thousand men at arms, exclusive of footmen, whose numbers could not be calculated. It was a perilous disproportion. On the morrow of the feast of my lord St. John the Baptist the pilgrims confessed and communicated, and on the following morning marched. The advanced-guard was led by Geoffry, marshal of Champagne, assisted by Machaire de St. Menehold; the second battle was commanded by Conon de Bethune; the third by Miles de Brabant; the fourth by Payen d' Orleans and

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A.D. 1206. Peter de Braicueil; the fifth by Anseau de Cahieu;[a] the sixth by Baldwin de Beauvoir; the seventh by Hugh de Belines; the eighth by the regent Henry; and the Fleming, Thierry de Los, who was seneschal, had the charge of the rear-guard.

CCXXVI. They marched three days in this array; and surely no people ever sought battle in more desperate circumstances; for they had two dangers to guard against: on one hand was the fear of being overwhelmed by superior numbers; and on the other they were afraid that the Greeks, with whom they had so recently been reconciled, would not heartily assist them, but in the day of need would again revolt to Johannizza. But as soon as Johannizza heard that the Franks were on their way, he dared not await their coming, but burnt his engines and decamped; a miracle to all the world! Henry, the regent of the empire, arrived on the fourth day at Adrianople, and encamped upon a delightful plain on the banks of the river.[b]

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[a] Anseau or Anselm de Cahieu was a noble of Picardy, whose domain was situated near the town of St Valery. Anseau de Cahieu opposed, at Corfu, the expedition to Constantinople. He never returned to France; but on the death of John de Brienne, A. D. 1237, was created regent of Constantinople during the minority of Baldwin II.

[b] "Urbs scilicet tam loci amoemtate, quam fertilitate adjacentis provinciæ commendabilis et famosa: quæ licet a Meridionali et Occidentali plaga duorum fluminum amœnis decursibus sic munita, exterius tamen murorum et turrium suarum jactitans firmitatem, intus etiam superbire videtur altis Palatiorum ædificiis insignita."—*Imp. Fred. Exp.*

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CCXXVII. When the citizens of Adrianople beheld the approach of the pilgrims, they advanced in procession with all their crosses to meet them, and testified the utmost thankfulness that human nature is capable of conceiving. They had reason to rejoice, for theirs was a signal deliverance. Intelligence arriving in the French army that Johannizza was at Rodestinc,[c] the army was put in motion, with the intention of offering battle; but Johannizza again decamped, and retired towards his own country. The French pursued him for five days, but he continually fled before them. On the fifth day they encamped on a pleasant plain near a castle called Fraim,[d] where after staying three days, a number of the good knights of the army separated from the others, in consequence of a dispute which they had with the regent Henry. Baldwin de Beauvoir was the ringleader of the seceders, and had with him Hugh de Belines, William de Gomegnies, and Drues de Belrain. In the whole about fifty knights departed, imagining that their remaining comrades dared not, after their departure, keep the field against the enemy. A.D. 1206.

CCXXVIII. The regent Henry and his barons held a council, and in pursuance of their deliberations they rode for two days, and encamped

[c] It is unknown what place is meant by Rodestinc. Rodosto being situated between Adrianople and Constantinople, cannot be intended.

[d] Fraim is also unknown to us.

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A.D. 1206. in a delicious valley, near a castle called Moniac. This castle was surrendered to them, and after remaining there five days, they resolved to venture to the assistance of Regnier de Trit, who for thirteen months had been shut up in the castle of Stanimac. The regent, with the greater part of the people, remained in the camp, and the rest went to the deliverance of Regnier de Trit. This rescue was a most dangerous service, and has never been surpassed in hardihood. On this rescue ventured Conon de Bethune, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Romania and Champagne, Machaire de St. Menehold, Miles de Brabant, Peter de Braicuiel, Payen d'Orleans, Anseau de Cahieu, Thierry de Los, William de Perçoi, and a battle of Venetians, of which Andrew de Valiere was captain. After a weary ride they came within sight of Stanimac.

CCXXIX. Regnier de Trit was watching in loneliness on the ramparts, and beheld the advanced-guard, under the command of Geoffry de Villehardouin the marshal, and the other battles following in good order, and knew not whether they were friends or foes. This was not very wonderful; for so long a time had elapsed since any intelligence of his countrymen had reached him, that he could only apprehend that these were the Greeks coming to besiege him. Geoffry the marshal having selected some Turcoples and mounted Arbalestriers, sent them to inquire the situation of

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the castle; for it was so long since they had heard of the garrison, that they knew not if they were dead or living. As soon as the horsemen approached the castle, they were recognized by Regnier de Trit and his men, I need not say with heartfelt satisfaction. They unbarred the gates, and hastened to meet their friends, and all rejoiced in thankfulness together. The barons encamped in the strong town at the foot of the castle, from which the Bulgarians had formerly maintained the siege. A.D. 1206.

CCXXX. The barons said they had often been informed that the emperor Baldwin had expired in the dungeons of Johannizza, but were unwilling to believe it. But Regnier de Trit having assured them that the emperor was certainly dead, they could no longer entertain doubt.*

* Nicætas tells us that Baldwin, after a long detention, was put to death by Johannizza, who cut off his arms and legs, and threw his body to the dogs. Acropolita adds that Johannizza used his scull, inclosed in gold, as a goblet. Alberic relates other particulars of the death of Baldwin, according to the reports which were then current. "Hic ergo ita captus apud Ternoam fuit incarceratus: unde de morte hujus Balduini non affirmando, sed simpliciter quod a quodam presbytero Flandrensi dicitur, qui per civitatem Ternoam de Constantinopoli repatriando iter habuit, hæc retulit: quod uxor Johannici, dum ille alias intendit, misit Imperatori ad carcerem verba suasoria dicens, quod si eam in uxorem ducere et Constantinopolim vellet secum adducere, ipsum in instanti liberaret a carcere et captivitate. Quæ promissa dum fuissent ab Imperatore repudiata et pro nihilo computata, illa apud maritum usa est nova querimonia, dicens quod Imperator ei promiserit quod eam Constantinopolim secum deduceret et Imperatricem coronaret, si eum de illa captivitate liberaret. Ac si dum Johannicius esset sero ebricus, imperatorem se adduci fecit et inibi interfici: et ita

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A.D. 1206. Many, upon this intelligence, renewed their sorrow, which was nevertheless without remedy. In the morning they all abandoned Stanimac, and after a march of two days reached the camp near the castle of Moniac, on the banks of the river Arta, where the regent Henry was expecting them. All the army testified great joy at the deliverance of Regnier de Trit, and rendered justice to the valour of his deliverers, for it was a task of no ordinary danger.

CCXXXI. It was determined in council to march to Constantinople, for the purpose of crowning Henry, the regent, emperor, leaving Branas with all his Greeks, and with forty lances, which were appointed to assist him. The regent and the barons then commenced their march, and in due time arrived at Constantinople, where they were gladly welcomed. There in the cathedral of St. Sophia they crowned the emperor Henry, the brother of the emperor Baldwin, with such honour and solemnity as were befitting, on the Sunday after the feast of our lady St. Mary, in August, in

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de mandato ejus Imperator occiditur et canibus relinquitur et per edictum publicum mors ejus celari jubetur." Though an impostor many years after appeared in Flanders, who affirmed he was the emperor Baldwin, there can be little doubt that the true emperor perished in captivity. Pope Innocent applied to Johannizza to set him at liberty, and was answered, that he could not gratify his holiness in this instance. "Quia debitum carnis exsolverat cum carcere teneretur." Had Baldwin been alive, Johannizza would have had no motive to retain him, after he had made peace with the Latins, still less could Johannizza's successors.

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the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1206. When Johannizza heard of this event, and that Branas was in possession of Adrianople and Demotica, he again raised all his vassals, and before Branas had time to repair Demotica, which had been sorely injured by the engines of the Comans, and which moreover was feebly garrisoned, he appeared suddenly before it, and carried it by assault. Having destroyed the city, and levelled its walls with the ground, he overran the whole country, seizing men, women, children, and booty of all kinds, and committing the most horrible cruelties. A.D. 1206.

CCXXXII. Messengers from Adrianople having described the ruin of Demotica, and implored succour of the emperor Henry, he summoned all his men, and departed from Constantinople to the assistance of the Greeks. As soon as Johannizza heard of his approach, he retired towards his own country; and the emperor continued his march, until he came and encamped on the plain before Adrianople. The Greeks came to meet him, and informed him that Johannizza, after the sack of Demotica, had ravaged the whole country, dragging away men, women, and children, and was still within a day's march of the city. The emperor, for the sake of the deliverance of the wretches who were his captives, resolved to fight Johannizza, if he would await his coming; and marching after him pursued him for four days,

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A.D. 1206. but the Bulgarian continually fled before him. At length the emperor Henry arrived at the city of Beroe,[f] which on the appearance of the pilgrims was abandoned, the inhabitants flying to the mountains. Here the emperor with his whole army encamped, and found it well supplied with corn, provisions, and necessaries of every kind. After a stay of two days, during which they overran the neighbourhood, and secured much spoil of oxen, cows, and buffaloes, they departed, with all their plunder, to a city called Blisnon, which they had found deserted like Beroe. There being plenty of provisions, they encamped before it.

CCXXXIII. Intelligence being brought, that, in a valley three leagues distant from the camp of the pilgrims, were the captives whom Johannizza was dragging away, with their plunder and their waggons, the emperor directed that the Greeks of Adrianople and Demotica, with the assistance of two squadrons of men at arms, should endeavour their deliverance. On the morrow they began their expedition; Eustace the emperor's brother,[g]

[f] Jornandes places this city betwixt Philippopolis and Nicopolis on the Danube. An epistle of the emperor Frederick I. describing the way he took to the Holy Land, states that after passing the defiles of Bulgaria, he descended into the plain of Veroe, and from thence passed to Philippopolis.

[g] Michael, prince of Etolia, desiring peace with the emperor Henry, it was agreed among other conditions that he should marry his daughter to Eustace, the emperor's brother. Notwithstanding this

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commanded one of the bands of lances, Machaire de St. Menehold the other. The French and Greeks marched to the valley they had been directed to, and found the people as they had been informed. Johannizza encountered the pilgrims, and on both sides were slain many men, women, and horses; but by the grace of the Almighty, the French prevailed, and rescued, and brought back the captives to the number of twenty thousand souls, with more than three thousand waggons laden with arms and attire, exclusive of other property. The line, as they returned to the camp, extended two leagues in length; it was night when they arrived: and the emperor and the barons were greatly rejoiced, and quartered them apart in the camp, that they might not lose the value of a denier of any thing they possessed. A.D. 1206.

CCXXXIV. The emperor having rested all the following day, on account of the people, who had been delivered, departed from that neighbour-

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alliance, Michael in A. D. 1210, again revolted against Henry. "Michaelitius fidelitate quam eidem præstiterat Imperatori contempta, hominibus ejus minime diffidatis, et spreto nihilominus juramento, quod eidem Imperatore et Eust. fratri ejus cui idem filiam suam primogenitam tradiderat in uxorem, præstiterat, Imperii Comestabulum cum militibus et aliis usque centum in dolo capiens, quosdam flagellavit ex eis, quosdam retrusit in carcerem et quibusdam nequiter interfectis, ipsum Comestabulum cum tribus aliis et Capellano suo, quod est horribile dictu, suspendit in cruce." *Innocen. Epist.* This Eustace is not mentioned by the genealogists of the counts of Flanders, whence Doutreman supposes him to have been illegitimate.

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A.D. 1206. hood, and returned to Adrianople. There he gave liberty to the rescued captives, and each departed to his native land. The remaining booty, of which the amount was great, was fairly divided among the men of the army. After a stay of five days, the emperor repaired to the city of Demotica, to examine its state, and see if it were possible to rebuild it. But it was evident to him and to all the barons on their arrival, that its restoration was beyond their power.

CCXXXV. At the same time arrived in the camp Otho de la Roche, an envoy of the marquis of Montferrat, to confer respecting a marriage which had been spoken of between the emperor Henry and the daughter of the marquis Boniface.[h] He brought information that the lady had arrived from Lombardy, whence she had been conducted by her father's commands, and was then in Salonica. The contract having been ratified by both parties, Otho de la Roche returned to Salonica. The emperor Henry again assembled his army, after they had secured the plunder of Visoi, and led them beyond Adrianople into the territories of Johannizza, king of the Bulgarians. Coming to a city called Ferme, they captured it and acquired great spoil; in the course of three days they overran the whole country, gaining

[h] Agnes, daughter of the marquis Boniface, and of Constance of Suabia, his first wife.

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much booty, and destroyed a city called Aquilo. On the fourth they departed from Ferme,[1] which was a beautiful and well seated city, possessing the finest warm baths in the world, but the emperor destroyed and burnt it, and carried off great quantities of spoil, and with all the booty returned to the city of Adrianople, where, being compelled to discontinue the war by reason of the approach of winter, he remained until the feast of All Saints. The emperor and all his barons then returned to Constantinople much fatigued with their campaign, having left Adrianople in the hands of the Greeks, assisted by a Fleming called Peter de Radingean and twenty men at arms. A.D. 1206.

CCXXXVI. In the mean time Theodore Lascaris, who possessed the country beyond the straight, having violated the truce, which he had concluded with the emperor Henry, the latter by the advice of his council, despatched to the city of Piga Peter de Braicuiel, whose lordship had been assigned in that neighbourhood, Payen d'Orleans, Anseau de Cahieu, Eustace his brother, and a great force of his best men, to the number of seven score lances. These renewed the war

[1] Nicætas tells us that the emperor pursued Johannizza to Crenum and Boreas, and from thence passing Agathopolis, he came to Anchialus, and returned laden with spoils and honours to Constantinople. It appears that the Ferme, probably Thermæ, as the place is now called, of Villehardouin, is the Crenum of Nicætas.

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A.D. 1206. against Theodore Lascaris with great spirit and ardour, and did considerable mischief in his territories. Marching to a place called Skiza,[k] which was nearly surrounded by the sea, and which formerly had upon the isthmus a fortress of walls, towers, and ditches, then in ruins, the army of the French entered it. Peter de Braicuiel, who was lord of the domain, began to re-fortify it and to construct two new forts at the entrances. From thence they overran the territories of Lascaris, and acquired great spoil and plunder, which they secured within the isle. Theodore Lascaris frequently came before Skiza, and there were many skirmishes, and some loss on both sides. And the war there was hot and perilous.

CCXXXVII. On the other hand Thierry de Los, the seneschal, going with a great number of the emperor's men to Nicomedia, which was within a day's journey of Nice the great, the capital of Theodore Lascaris, and had been granted to him, found the castle there destroyed, but restored

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[k] Skiza. Rhamnusius and Doutreman take this place to be Diaschili. Du Cange dissents from this opinion, because the name "σχιζα" denotes a tongue of land in some manner divided from the continent; he is however at a loss where to place it, though as Villehardouin says it was near the island of Marmora, it is an additional proof that it cannot be Diaschili, which was on the gulph of Nicomedia. Alberic, A.D. 1205, mentions the place, "Similiter quædam insula non longe a Constantinopoli ultra brachium vocatur Azycum, sive Lysicum, id est Eskisia," &c. It appears to me to be the peninsula of Cyzicus.

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and fortified the church of St. Sophia,[1] which was lofty and magnificent; and from thence he carried on the war. A.D. 1206.

CCXXXVIII. At the same time the marquis of Montferrat removed from Salonica, and marched to Seres, which Johannizza had subverted, and restored it. He restored also another place called Drama,[m] in the valley of Philippi. All the country round submitted to him, and he devastated the enemy's territories at his pleasure.

CCXXXIX. Christmas being at length over, ambassadors from the marquis came to the emperor at Constantinople, and informed him in the name of their master, that he had sent his daughter by sea to the city of Abydos. The emperor deputed Geoffry, the marshal of Romania and Champagne, and Miles de Brabant, to receive the lady; and they hastening to the city of Abydos, found her exceedingly fair and gracious; and saluting her on their lord's behalf, conducted her with great honour to the city of Constantinople. There, on the Sunday after the feast of the purification of our lady St. Mary, the emperor Henry espoused her with joy and honour in the cathedral of St. Sophia. Both wore their crowns, and the

[1] The emperor Constantine was the founder of the church of St. Sophia at Nicomedia. It was injured by an earthquake in the reign of his successor Constantius.

[m] Drama, a bishoprick suffragan to Philippi.

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A. D. 1206. nuptials were celebrated with exceeding pomp, in the palace of Bucoleon.

1207. CCXL Theodore Lascaris who was at war with the emperor Henry, despatched envoys to Johannizza king of Bulgaria, informing him "that all the force of the emperor was warring on the Turkish side of the straight, and that the emperor himself remained with few followers at Constantinople; that if he desired revenge, he should attack him on one side, while himself advanced upon the other; and that the emperor had so little aid with him, that he could offer but a feeble resistance." Johannizza assembled an innumerable host of Walachians and Bulgarians; and now the beginning of Lent had arrived. Machaire de St. Menehold had begun to fortify a castle at Charax,[n] which is seated on a gulph, six leagues from Nicomedia, towards Constantinople. And William de Sains was fortifying another at Cibotos,[o] upon the gulph of Nicomedia, towards Nice. Thus, while the barons were scattered over the country, the emperor Henry at Constantinople

[n] Charax, a town seated on the gulph of Nicomedia, said by Cedrenus to have been the place where Constantine the Great died.

[o] Cibotos is often mentioned by the chroniclers of the crusades, as the port where the pilgrims, passing from Constantinople, were landed. Anna Comnena, describing the passage of Godfrey of Boulogne and his people, tells us that one body passed to Nicomedia, and the other landed at Cibotos, from whence the siege of Nice was undertaken. Ordericus Vitalis states, that the city was assigned to the Anglo-Danes, who were banished from their own country, and had entered the service of the Greek emperors.

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had enough upon his hands. And I, Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Romania and Champagne, testify that no people were ever more distracted by war, having to deal with so many enemies together. A.D. 1207.

CCXLI. For Johannizza with his people, and a great host of Comans, had entered Romania, and laid siege to Adrianople, while his Comans rode to the gates of Constantinople. He planted thirty-three engines to cast stones against the walls and towers; within Adrianople were none but Greeks, with the exception of Peter de Radingean, and ten of the emperor's men at arms. Greeks and Latins sent urgently to the emperor for help, informing him they were besieged by Johannizza. The emperor continued with few followers at Constantinople, and was exceedingly troubled when he knew how his forces were scattered beyond the straight; yet having resolved to advance from Constantinople a fortnight after Easter, with such force as he could assemble, he sent to Skiza, where the greatest numbers of his people were, and summoned them to come to him. On which Eustace his brother, and Anseau de Cahieu, with most of their followers, embarked by sea, leaving Peter de Braicuiel with few soldiers in Skiza.

CCXLII. When Theodore Lascaris heard that Adrianople was invested, and that the emperor, not knowing where to turn, the war blazing all

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A.D. 1207. around, was compelled to recal his people, he collected his forces, and pitched his camp before the entrance of Skiza, where many skirmishes took place with equal success. But when he knew that few people remained in the place, he selected a great portion of his fleet and army, and sending them to the castle of Cibotos, which William de Sains was fortifying, invested it on the Saturday in Midlent, both by sea and land. There were forty good lances in the place, of which Machaire de St. Menehold was captain, but the castle was not yet secured, being open to lance and sword. The Greeks warmly assailed them by sea and land the whole of Saturday, and the French, though they were only forty against an innumerable multitude, defended themselves with great intrepidity. Of all the good knights, only five escaped without wounds, and Giles, the nephew of Miles de Brabant, was slain.

CCXLIII. On the Saturday morning before the assault began, a messenger arrived at Constantinople, and found the emperor Henry at table in the palace of Blachernæ; "Sir," said he, "the men of Cibotos are besieged by sea and land, and if you do not suddenly assist them, they must all be slain or taken." With the emperor were Conon de Bethune, Geoffry the marshal of Champagne, Miles de Brabant, and few retainers. But without any delay the emperor hastened to the beach and entered a galley, while the others took such vessels

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as were at hand, having first proclaimed through the city that the soldiers should follow him on this imminent danger to the succour of his subjects, who would otherwise be utterly lost. Then might you have seen the Venetians, the Pisans, and other people of the sea hastening, with their utmost speed, to their vessels; while the French, completely armed, embarked in them, and sped after the emperor. They rowed all the evening and the night until the following day; and the emperor had so exerted himself, that soon after sunrise he came within sight of Cibotos, and of the army which surrounded it. The knights within the castle had not slept all the night, but weary and wounded as they were, had remained constantly on the watch, like men in the expectation of death. When the emperor saw himself so near Cibotos, he earnestly desired to attack the Greeks, though as yet his force was inadequate; for he had with him only Geoffry the marshal in a separate vessel, Miles de Brabant, a Pisan, and another knight, and altogether had only seventeen vessels, while the Greeks had upwards of sixty. It was evident that if waited for assistance, and permitted another assault of Cibotos, the garrison would certainly be lost, he resolved therefore to engage the ships, and for that purpose rowed directly towards them with arms prepared and helms laced. When the Greeks, who were on the point of another assault, beheld the emperor's approach, aud were sensible that succour was at

A.D. 1207.

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A.D. 1207. hand, they descended from the castle, horse and foot, and stationed themselves on the shore; but seeing that the emperor was still advancing with full sails against them, those who were on the shore were taken on board the ships, that they might assist in the battle with their arrows and lances. The emperor with his seventeen vessels kept the Greeks at bay, and the shouts reached those then on their way from Constantinople, who before night set in, had arrived in such numbers, that they had the complete mastery of the seas. They remained in their armour all night at anchor in their vessels, resolving, as soon as it was light, to attack the Greeks on shore, and destroy their vessels. But about midnight the Greeks drew all their vessels ashore; and having set fire to them and burnt them, they decamped and fled away.

CCXLIV. The emperor Henry and his people were greatly lifted up at the victory which God had given them, and at the succour which they had been enabled to afford their countrymen. When day appeared, the emperor and his people landed, and repairing to the castle of Cibotos found the greater part of its defenders sorely hurt and wounded. Having considered the state of the castle, and found it too feeble for defence, they collected all their people, and abandoned it. On the other hand Johannizza, who was besieging Adrianople, incessantly plied his numerous engines against the towers and the walls, and greatly

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shook them; laid mines beneath them, and harassed the Greeks and Latins by continual assaults, which they repulsed with noble resolution. They daily sent to the emperor for assistance, assuring him, that if he delayed, they were utterly undone. The emperor was sorely distracted; for when he prepared to succour his people on one side, Theodore Lascaris pressed him so closely on the other, that he was compelled to return. The month of April found Johannizza before Adrianople, and apparently on the point of taking it; for he had battered down the walls in two places, and had made so wide a breach, that the Bulgarians might engage the besieged hand to hand. Many desperate assaults ensued, but the Greeks and Latins bravely defended themselves, and many on both sides were killed or hurt. But it pleased God that the Comans, who, after plundering the whole country, had returned with their spoil to the camp at Adrianople, declared to Johannizza, that they would remain there no longer, but would retire to their own country. So the Comans departed, on which Johannizza durst no longer continue before Adrianople, but fled and abandoned his design. It was esteemed miraculous that he did so, being so near the capture of the city, and possessing such a mighty power. But God is over all. The citizens of Adrianople still pressed the emperor to come to visit them, because if Johannizza should return, their situation would be hopeless. A.D. 1207.

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A.D. 1207. CCXLV. The emperor was preparing to march with all his men to Adrianople, when intelligence of a new disaster arrived, that Escurion,[p] the admiral of Theodore Lascaris, had entered the straight of Abydos, and had come before Skiza, where were Peter de Braicuiel and Payen d' Orleans, and blockaded them by sea, while Theodore Lascaris besieged them by land. The people of the lordship of Skiza, as well as the people of Marmora, who were likewise the vassals of Peter de Braicuiel had revolted against him, and had slain several of his followers. This news caused great dismay at Constantinople.

CCXLVI. The emperor having consulted his barons and the Venetians, they declared that if Peter de Braicuiel and Payen d'Orleans were not succoured, they and the country were lost. They immediately prepared fourteen galleys, and manned them with the noblest of the Venetians, and with all the barons of the empire. In one was Conon de Bethune and his vassals; in another Geoffry de Villehardouin; in the third Machaire de St. Menehold; in the fourth Miles de Brabant; in the fifth Anseau de Cahieu; in the sixth Thierry de Los the seneschal; in the seventh William de Perçhoi; in the eighth Eustace the emperor's brother; and in every other galley were

[p] This Escurion is said by Rhamnusius, who calls him John Sturion, to have been a famous pirate, a native of Calabria, who had entered the service of Theodore Lascaris.

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embarked the best knights of the emperor. When they departed from the port of Constantinople, all the spectators confessed that never ships were better armed, nor filled with nobler men. Thus was the expedition to Adrianople deferred for a time, while the galleys sailed down the straight to Skiza. I know not how Escurion, the admiral of Lascaris, knew of their approach, but he fled down the straight, and the French pursued him two days and two nights, forty miles beyond the pass of Abydos. When it became evident that they could not overtake him, they returned to Peter de Braicuiel and Payen d' Orleans at Skiza, but Theodore Lascaris had decamped and retired into the interior. Thus having relieved Skiza, the French returned towards Constantinople to prepare for the journey to Adrianople. A.D. 1207.

CCXLVII. Theodore Lascaris having sent a great power against Nicomedia, where the men of Thierry de Los had fortified the church of Saint Sophia, the latter sent to inform their lord, and the emperor, that if they were not assisted, they should be compelled to abandon the place, and speedily too, because they had no provisions. Thus was the emperor again obliged to forego his intention of visiting Adrianople, and to pass with all his men to the Turkish side of the straight of St. George, to the relief of Nicomedia. When the people of Lascaris heard of his coming, they abandoned the country, and retired towards Nice

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A.D. 1207. the great. On which the emperor resolved that Thierry de Los, the seneschal of Romania, should remain at Nicomedia, with his knights and serjeants, to protect the city and the country around it; also that Machaire de St. Menehold should abide at Charax, and William de Perçhoi at Dascileum;[q] and that each should undertake the defence of his own domain.

CCXLVIII. The emperor Henry then returned to Constantinople, and again prepared to march to Adrianople. But while his preparations were in progress, Thierry de Los, the seneschal, who had remained at Nicomedia, one day undertook a foray with William de Perçhoi and their retainers. The soldiers of Theodore Lascaris, apprized of their intention, attacked them by surprize; they were in great numbers, and the French were very few. A warm conflict took place, but was of no long duration, for the weaker party could not resist the multitudes which oppressed them. Thierry de Los bore himself like a man; he was twice unhorsed, and twice remounted by his people. William de Perçhoi also was unhorsed and rescued. However the French, unable to maintain their ground, were defeated; Thierry de Los was taken among the wounded, and few of his people escaped. William de Perçhoi fled on horseback, wounded in

[q] Dascileum, now called Diaschili, a city situated upon the Asiatick shore of the Propontis.

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the hand, and rallied in the church of St. Sophia those who had survived the battle. It was said, I know not how truly, that a knight called Anseau de Remy, a liegeman of Thierry de Los, the seneschal, and the commander of his vassals, to his great shame abandoned his lord. William de Perçhoi, Anseau de Remy, and those who were in the church of St. Sophia, in Nicomedia, despatched a messenger over to Constantinople to tell the emperor of the capture of his seneschal and his men; that the remnant was shut up in the church of St. Sophia, in Nicomedia, with only five days' sustenance, and that unless they had instant help, they should shortly be captives, or dead men. A.D. 1207.

CCXLIX. The emperor in haste repassed the straight of St. George with his people, and hurried to the succour of Nicomedia. Thus was the journey to Adrianople once more postponed. When the emperor had passed the straight, he arrayed his power, and marched to Nicomedia. As soon as the people of Theodore Lascaris, and his brother who was their commander, heard of his coming, they retired, and passed the mountain on the side of Nice, while the emperor encamped by Nicomedia, in a pleasant meadow upon the banks of a river near the mountain side; and pitched his tents and pavilions, and sent his people to foray the country, which on the misfortune of Thierry de Los, had revolted; and they took

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A.D. 1207. many prisoners, and much booty. The emperor Henry remained five days in his encampment, during which, Theodore Lascaris sent ambassadors to him to propose a two years' truce, on the condition that the Franks should permit Skiza and the fortress of the church of St. Sophia to be demolished, and in return should receive back all their prisoners, of whom there were many in his possession.

CCL. The emperor Henry summoned his council, and represented to them, "that being unable any longer to support two wars together, it were better to submit at once to this loss, than to that of Adrianople and the empire; that, by means of the truce, they should divide their enemies, Johannizza and Theodore Lascaris, who were friends and allies in the war." So the truce was resolved upon, and settled; and the emperor sent for Peter de Braicuiel from Skiza, who came, and at the emperor's desire, delivered up Skiza and the church of Nicomedia, to Theodore Lascaris, to be demolished. Thus the truce was effected; the forts were destroyed; and Thierry de Los and the prisoners were restored.

CCLI. The emperor Henry again returned to Constantinople, and undertook to go to Adrianople, with all his vassals, whom he assembled at Selymbria. So long a period had been consumed in these expeditions, that the feast of Saint John

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in June was past, when he reached Adrianople, and encamped on the plain before the city. The inhabitants of Adrianople, who had so long desired his coming, met him with all the Greeks of the neighbourhood, and welcomed him with great rejoicing. He remained only one day before the city, for the purpose of observing what injury Johannizza had done to the walls and the towers, which were greatly weakened. On the morning he struck his tents, advanced into the country of Johannizza, and after five days' march came to a city at the foot of the mountain of Walachia,[r] called Euloi, which had been newly re-peopled by Johannizza. When the inhabitants beheld the appearance of the army, they abandoned the city, and fled to the mountains. A.D. 1207.

CCLII. The emperor Henry encamped before the city, while his light troops overran the country, and brought in oxen, cows, buffaloes, and other beasts in great abundance. Those inhabitants of Adrianople who were poor and destitute of food, and had followed the army with empty waggons, loaded them with wheat and other grain, and likewise all the waggons they could lay hands upon. The army encamped in the place three days, during which the foragers rode in quest of booty to all parts of the country; but

[r] Mount Hœmus. The range which separates Thrace from Bulgaria. It is now termed "Balkan," probably a corruption of "Walachian."

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A.D. 1207. the country was so mountainous, and so full of dangerous defiles, that many, who adventured rashly, were lost.

CCLIII. At length the emperor Henry despatched to the assistance of the foragers, Anseau de Cahieu, Eustace his brother, Thierry of Flanders, his nephew, Walter d'Escornay, and John de Bliant. These with their men, being divided into four divisions, advanced within the intricacies of the mountains, and having protected their people, were about to return, but found the passage very difficult; for the Walachians of the country had assembled to intercept them, and did them considerable mischief both in horses and in men. They were in danger of an utter defeat, but the men at arms dismounted for their rescue; after which they returned to the camp, but not without loss. The next morning the emperor Henry and the French army returned towards Adrianople, and supplied the garrison which he left there, with corn and all other provisions. And the emperor continued fifteen days in the plain before the city.

CCLIV. It was at this time that the marquis Boniface of Montferrat, who had remained at Seres, which he had restored, was making an excursion towards Messinople, where all submitted to his power. From thence he sent envoys to the emperor Henry, to desire an interview

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with him, near the river which flows past Cypsela.* Each had been so occupied by the many enemies around him, that they had no opportunity of conferring together since the subjection of the country. When the emperor and his friends knew that the marquis Boniface was at Messinople, they were greatly pleased, and the emperor replied by the envoys, "that he would not fail to meet the marquis on the day appointed." So the emperor departed, having left Conon de Bethune, with full a hundred lances, to defend the domain of Adrianople. At the appointed time he arrived in a pleasant plain close by the city of Cypsela, and there the emperor and the marquis met with singular content; which was no marvel, for it was long since they had seen each other. The marquis enquired after the health of his daughter the empress Agnes, and manifested great joy and satisfaction, on being informed that she was at that time pregnant. A.D. 1207.

CCLV. The marquis then became the man of the emperor Henry, and held his land of him, as he had done of the emperor Baldwin, his brother. The marquis also granted the city of Messinople, with its dependencies, or the city of Seres, whichever he preferred, to Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Romania and Champagne,

* Cypsela, a city near the Hebrus, between Adrianople and Trajanople. It is now called Ipsala.

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A.D. 1207. for which he became his man, saving his fealty to the emperor of Constantinople. Having staid two days in the plain in the midst of great festivities, they declared that since it had pleased God to give them this opportunity of meeting together, they would undertake some enterprize against their common enemies. So it was agreed that they should assemble their forces in the ensuing month of October in the plain of Adrianople to attack the king of Walachia, and they separated in content and amity. The marquis returned to Messinople, and the emperor Henry to Constantinople.

CCLVI. The marquis had been scarcely five days at Messinople, when, by the instigation of the Greeks, he undertook a foray to the mountain of Messinople,[t] which was upwards of a days' journey distant. Having accomplished his purpose, he was on the point of returning, when the Bulgarians of the country, seeing that the marquis was thinly attended, assembled in great numbers, and made an attack upon his rear. As soon as the marquis heard the alarm, he leaped, all unarmed, upon his horse; and beholding the attack of his people, rode with only a lance in his hand, against the assailants, and repulsed them to a considerable distance. But then the marquis

[t] The mountain Rhodope, which gives name to the province in which Messinople is situated.

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Boniface received a mortal wound in the thick part of the arm, beneath the shoulder, from which the blood began to flow apace. At this sight his soldiers were sorely troubled and terrified, and did not their duty as they were wont. Those who were around the marquis supported him, but he lost so much blood, that he became nearly senseless. When his followers saw that all was over, a great terror possessed them, and they began to flee. Thus this misfortune caused their entire defeat. All who continued with their lord, were slain, and the head of the marquis Boniface of Montferrat was cut off by the Bulgarians, and carried to Johannizza. It was the greatest triumph Johannizza had ever obtained. A. D. 1207.

CCLVII. Alas! how deplorable an accident it was to the emperor Henry and to the barons of the empire of Romania, to lose in such a way, a man like this; who was one of the best of princes, and the most gracious and noble knight, that yet remained in the world! This misfortune happened in the year of our lord Jesus Christ, one thousand two hundred and seven.

THE END.

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